

hide joins, while one (f.80a) has the most ambitious architectural layout of any Mughal painting. The marginal drawings, in addition to the drawings in two tones of gold seen in the Nizāmī, also have more highlights in colour, like the *Bahārīstān* (No.64). Ettinghausen lists the artists responsible for the illuminations—Mansūr Naqqāsh, Husayn Naqqāsh, Khvāja Jān Shirāzī, and Lutf Allāh Muzahhib. The first of these painted the illumination of the *sarlavḥ* of the 1604 *Akbarnāma* (No.70) and of an undated opening page of a *Divān* of Anvarī¹, and also contributed paintings of animals to the second of the *Bāburnāma* manuscripts (No.62); he is the same person who went on to specialize in studies of flora and fauna whom Jahāngīr eulogises in his Memoirs. The second is possibly the same as the artist named Husaynī who contributed to the illumination of the 1595 *Bahārīstān* (No.64). The artists responsible for the 21 paintings include La'l, Sānvlah, Manohar, 'Alī Qulī, Dharmdās, Narsingh, Jagannāth, Sūrdās, Miskīn and Farrukh. To them may be added the name of Basāvan who painted one of the eight paintings from this manuscript now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York—three of the other paintings are attributed to artists named in the Baltimore manuscript.

Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, W.624.

ff.211; 28.4×19cm; highly polished, biscuit-coloured paper, with gold sprinkling in text panels; 21 lines of elegant *Nasta'liq* in four columns in panels 17.2×10cm with margins ruled in gold and colours, principally green; four illuminated *shamsas*; four *sarlavḥs*; every border illuminated with designs of animals and landscape in gold, with 17 pages with highlights in colour; outer border terminated by another margin in gold and colours, with a later, outer frame 24.7×16cm; 21 paintings (with an additional eight in New York), mostly full page; original painted and lacquered covers, 28.5×19cm with a tiger hunt and a mystic with a disciple in a cave on the upper cover, and a fight between angels and *divs* on the lower; doublures painted in black and gold designs and lacquered.

Bibliography: Ettinghausen 1961, plates 6 and 7 (col. repro. of f.208b and of one of the Metropolitan Museum pages, 13.228.26). Welch 1963, Nos.7 (colour repro. of upper cover) and 8 (two of the Metropolitan pages). Miner 1957 (repro. of lower cover, plate XXIIIa).

¹Spink 1980, No.62.

67 'Kulliyāt' of Sa'dī

The complete works of the poet Sa'dī (see No.42).

This elegant manuscript dated 1011/1602 from the royal Mughal studio continues

the tradition of sumptuous border decorations in gold found in manuscripts of the mid-1590s (Nos.64–6), although this time without any miniatures. All the borders are decorated with drawings in two tones of gold, of animals, hunting-scenes, landscapes and pavilions.

Government Museum, Alwar, MS.206.

ff.408; 31×18cm; polished paper; text in elegant *Nasta'liq* in panels with margins ruled in gold and colours; all borders painted in gold; some illuminations; Alwar binding by 'Abd ar-Rahmān (see Nos.108, 109, 138).

Bibliography: Alwar 1961, p.100.

68 'Jog-bāshisht'

COLOUR PLATE XXV

A Persian translation of the Sanskrit work *Yogavāsiṣṭhamahārāmāyaṇa*, the Great Story of Rāma and the Yoga-teaching of Vasishtha, a huge poetical work in which the sage Vasishtha instructs Rāma in Vedānta philosophy by means of long narratives demonstrating the illusoriness of physical reality. A much condensed Persian translation of the work was undertaken apparently at Akbar's command in 1006/1597–8.¹ The present copy with 41 illustrations was prepared in the 47th *Ilāhī* year, i.e. 1602, the name of the translator being given according to Arnold and Wilkinson as Farmulī, an inhabitant of Farmul, west of Kabul. No other details are known of this person.

The illustrations are very much in the new palette of the early 17th century, with cool and transparent tonalities, and simpler compositions, which likewise govern the miniatures in the 1605 *Nafahāt al-Uns* (No.69) done for Akbar in Agra and the three manuscripts (Nos.72, 74–5) done at the same period for Salīm in Allahabad. All five manuscripts are specifically concerned with mysticism or with Indian themes, so that it is perhaps not very surprising that a new style was evolved for them, contrasting forcibly with the elaborate historical and poetical manuscripts of the previous decade. There is no indication in the Ms. of whether it was done for Akbar or for Salīm. Most of the attributions have been cut off, leaving only two definite names Haribans and Kesu, whose other work at this period is unknown.

The cool palette and elegant compositions in this manuscript have the effect of etherealizing the subjects in a way altogether in accordance with the text, which sets out to demonstrate that the physical world is in fact an illusion. None of the figures is as firmly delineated in physical reality and volume as in the previous decade, and it is possible that here we are in fact witnessing the resurgence of the pre-Mughal artistic tradition of floating figures before a monochrome

ground. The miniatures are either whole page, or are contained between the first and last lines of a text panel—no text is contained within them. By this time the guiding hand of the Persian masters had long been lifted, and we can see the resurgence of the old manner of doing things in works produced by artists trained in the imperial studio for non-imperial patrons, such as the 1598 *Razmnāma* (No.88). This is present even here in this undoubted imperial manuscript, which Shāh Jahān autographed after his accession. At the same time, however, as suggesting the illusoriness of the characters, the artists here were making them the perfect embodiments of what they represented—the sages really do look holy and venerable, and the ladies as lovely as they are described in the text. The figures of Shiva and Pārvaṭī on f.230a paying obeisance to the sage Vasishtha are as charming a married couple as may be seen anywhere in Mughal painting, despite the attributes of his godhead in which Shiva appears.

Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ind. MS.5.

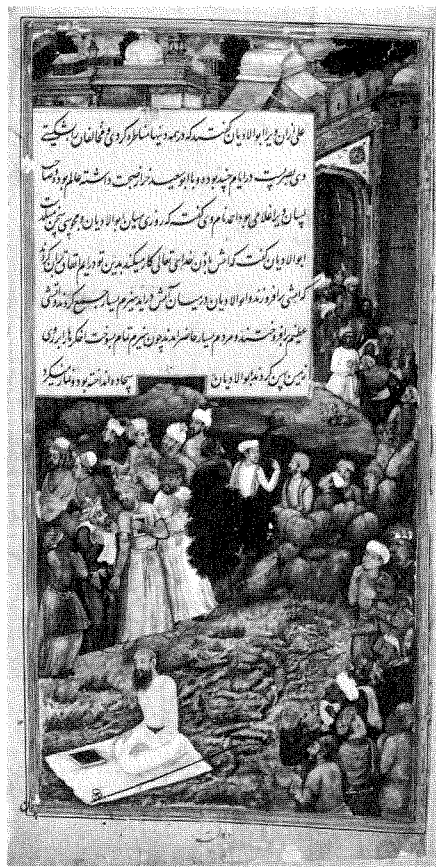
ff.323; 27×18.5cm; biscuit-coloured paper in text panels, remargined with a lighter-toned paper; 15 lines of elegant *Nasta'liq* in panels 19.7×10.8cm, with margins ruled in gold and red with an outer blue line; one *sarlavḥ*, in gold and colours; 41 miniatures, some full-page, others between the upper and lower lines of a text panel; autograph inscription of Shāh Jahān on f.1b, dated 1037/1628; numerous *arzūdāhs* of the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān; rebound in red oriental covers.

Bibliography: CB 1936, pp.21–5 (repro. of ff.41b, 128b, 178b, 230a). Wilkinson 1948. AIP, p.151. Barrett and Gray 1963, p.96 (col. repro. of f.73a).

¹The translation is not mentioned by Abu'l Fazl in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, as among those undertaken at Akbar's command. Rizvi (1975, p.215), states that the translation is 'generally ascribed to Faizī', but Faizī of course died in 1004/1594–6. The British Library Ms. Add.5637 (BM 1876, p.61) states that the author, unnamed, made a new translation after Akbar had in 1006/1597–8 expressed a wish to procure a truer version than that found in the work of former translators. Little reliance, however, can be put on this statement, as this work is in fact an abridgement of the original Persian translation, and is only half the length of this illustrated version, which we may suppose to be the translation originally prepared for Akbar.

69 'Nafahāt al-Uns'

Breaths of Fellowship—notes of famous saints and Sufis, by the Persian poet Nūr ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Rahmān Jāmī (1414–93). Jāmī was a Sufi himself, and wrote this work from 1476–9, being a modernized version brought up to date of two earlier works in Arabic. The main series of notices has 567 biographies of saints from the 2nd to the 8th centuries of the *Hijra*,



69 f.135b. The Sufi Abu'l Adyan praying on a bed of coals watched by Zoroastrians. By Daulat.

followed by smaller sequences on mystic poets and on female mystics.

This Ms. of the work was copied, so the colophon informs us, for the library of Akbar at Agra in the 49th regnal year (1605), by the scribe 'Abd ar-Rahīm, known as 'Ambarin Kalam' (Amber-pen) (see No.65). It is incomplete, having only 17 of the original complement of 30 paintings, some of which have found their way into the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, while an additional six folios of text are also missing. Many of the artist's attributions have been cut off in rebindings, leaving us with only eight names—Hirānand, Narsingh, Daulat, Harārat (?—possibly Padarath), Bālchand, Mādhi, Khem Karan and Tārā. Most of these names appear in the contemporary *Akbarnāma* (Nos.70–1). Like the latter Ms. the *Nafahāt al-Uns* is in the 'new' style of the last years of Akbar's reign—cooler colours, less busy action, and a marked fondness for *nimqalam*, with a highly burnished surface that imparts a glazed and hard look to some of the paintings. The most interesting paintings are by Daulat (f.135b), a fiery study in glowing purples and oranges of the saint Abu'l Adyan praying on coals; by Bālchand (f.226a), a lovely study of a group of Sufis at a party in his mature, soft

manner; and an unattributed study in the new palette (f.142a) which shows an intimate domestic scene of a man, his wife and their child, which is a harbinger of the new concern for social realism that Jahāngīr was to bring to the studio. All that remains of the attribution on this lovely study is the quite clear syllable—kar—, which does not unfortunately point to any of the master artists of the period.¹ This like two other paintings has the puzzling inscription in a different hand, *aval*, meaning first, and possibly meaning the first painting in the Ms. of that artist's work. This does not seem to be a usage attested in other manuscripts. The Ms. has retained its original lacquered covers, now detached.

British Library, London, Or.1362.

ff.401 (of which ff.1–3 are later flyleaves with inscriptions); 27×14.5cm; biscuit-coloured, burnished, thick paper; 15 lines of elegant *Nasta'liq* in panels 18.5×8.5cm within margins ruled in gold and blue; space for a *sarlavḥ* left blank; 17 paintings (out of 30) in size 10.5×11cm to 24×12cm, the majority much larger than the text panels, which are in the narrow upright format seen also in the *Akbarnāma* (Nos.70–1), which however tends to keep the paintings within the bounds of the text panels; various later seals, mostly defaced; considerably damaged (including several of the paintings), many folios remargined, the whole now on guards in a modern binding; the original covers, damaged and detached, with panels showing painted flowers and trees in a landscape, and doublures of arabesques in bas-relief in leather.

Bibliography: BM 1879, p.350 (the scribe is 'Abd ar-Rahīm, not 'Abd al-Karīm). BL 1977, p.69 (add the names of the artists Harārat (Padārath?), f.150a, and Tārā, f.354b). Barrett and Gray 1963, pp.96–8 (f.142a reproduced in colour).

¹Ashok Das in his study of the painter Bishndās (Chhavi 1971) refers to speculation that this painting is by Bishndās or Daulat. Neither name is justifiable on the grounds of the fragmentary attribution.

70–71 'Akbarnāma'

COLOUR PLATE XXX

and 71 illustrated on p.74.

The History of the Emperor Akbar (1556–1605), by Abu'l Fazl ibn Mubārak (1551–1602), is the official chronicle of Akbar's reign. The Emperor's friend and counsellor, Abu'l Fazl, the brother of the Poet-Laureate, Faizī, carried the work up to 1590, when an illustrated copy was prepared, most of the surviving part of which is broken up and in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The work of writing the official history was continued, however, apparently up to 1602, the year of Abu'l Fazl's death, when Prince Salīm, jealous

of the historian's influence over his father, had him murdered by the Bundela chief, Bir Singh Dev. There has survived another imperial copy of the *Akbarnāma*, now divided mostly between the British Library (vol. 1) and the Chester Beatty Library (vol. 2 and part of vol. 3), which goes up to the year 1579. On the first folio, now hidden behind repairs, are two holograph library accession notices by the Emperors Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, dated 1028/1619 and 1037/1627–8. At the foot of the miniature on f.134b is a note giving the date 21st *Sha'ban* 1012/25th January 1604. From Jahāngīr's note, the calligrapher appears to have been Muhammad Husayn al-Kashmīrī Zarin Qalam ('Golden-pen'). There can be no doubt of the imperial stature of this and the Dublin volumes, and it is doubtless the copy commissioned at the termination of the *Akbarnāma* in 1602, the year of Abu'l Fazl's murder. As the colophon is lacking there can however be no certainty of this.

There is a marked difference in style between the two copies of the *Akbarnāma*—the rough-hewn, immediate style of the earlier has given way to the exquisite technique of the 17th century. Many of the paintings of this last historical manuscript of Akbar's reign are akin to the style of the manuscripts of the Persian classics illustrated in the intervening period in their exquisite finish and perfection of detail. There are, however, numerous paintings in the *nimqalam* technique so prevalent in the early years of the new century. All the borders are replacements, but as the attributions below the miniatures and the border illuminations on the first two folios are on these borders, all of which are absolutely authentic, the whole manuscript must have been given new borders shortly after completion, but before 1619, the date of Jahāngīr's holograph on the front of the marginal portion of the first folio. This would in itself be most unusual, to remargin a Ms. so soon after its completion, unless for a specific decorative purpose which in this case was never completed. It is unlikely that this work would have been done just for the opportunity to illuminate the margins of the first two folios unless a more ambitious scheme had been contemplated. Unlike most of the marginal paintings of the two Jahāngīr albums datable between 1599 and 1618 (No.78), in which is continued the tradition of the 1590s manuscripts of painting figures mostly in gold with a subdued tonal range for the rest of the figure but with full colour for the face and other details, these pages in the *Akbarnāma* show figures fully painted against a golden landscape. The original illumination which these margins enclose is attributed to Mansūr in the columns between the text.¹ All the paintings of both surviving parts are contained within

the textual margins, and some also include text within the same frames, which are remarkable for their tall, narrow format. Various paintings have notes in a minute hand, of which portions were erased in the ruling of margins and in the remargining. British Library, London, Or.12988.

(70) ff.163; 40.5 × 27.5cm; creamy paper of dark hue; fine *Nasta'liq* script; 22 lines, in panels 23.5–24 × 12.5cm ruled in gold and colours; completely remargined; 39 surviving paintings out of 50, all with attributions (see BL 1977, pp.4–5); two opening pages with drawings in gold and colours round the *sarlavh*; remargined and rebound in Persia, with painted and lacquered Qajar covers, dated 1249/1833–4.

Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ind. MS.2.

(71) ff.268; 43 × 23cm; 22 lines of *Nasta'liq* script in panels ruled in colours and gold 24 × 13cm; completely remargined in lighter coloured paper; 61 paintings (all attributed, see CB 1936, pp.6–12), out of 110; two *sarlavhs*; the covers of tooled and gilded leather signed by Muhammad Zamān 'Abbāsī.

Bibliography: BL 1977, pp.4–5. BM 1978, p.52. CB 1936, pp.4–12. Martin 1912, plates 82–3, 209–10.

¹This has just been pointed out by Hans-Caspar Graf von Bothner of the Universität des Saarlandes. Mansūr Naqqash (the illuminator) painted the *sarlavh* also in No.66.

72 'Divān' of Hasan Dihlavi COLOUR PLATE XXVI

The collected shorter poems in Persian of Hasan of Delhi, a contemporary and friend of Amīr Khusraw (see No.56), who died in 1328.

This, like Nos.74 and 75, is one of a small group of manuscripts associated with Prince Salīm in his years of rebellion against his father, when he established a studio at his residence in Allahabad. It is dated Muhurram 1011/1602, and was copied at Allahabad by Mir 'Abdallāh Kātib Mushqin Qalam ('Musky-pen'), one of the three Mughal calligraphers honoured with such soubriquets. It is in a large *Nasta'liq*, like the *Rājkunvār* of 1603 (No.74), but unlike the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* (No.75), which is in *Naskhī*. Mir 'Abdallāh is the subject of a portrait study on the final page (f.187a), surrounded by the implements of his art, which shows him to be an ascetic looking man of about 40 to 50.

The Ms. has 14 miniatures but without any attributions, in the new palette of the early 17th century. Two of them, like the paintings added to the Hāfiz Ms. (No.76) after he became Emperor, show Salīm himself, witnessing a polo game (f.40a) and hunting deer (f.109b). Of the painters

who may now be associated with Salīm's studio—Āqā Rizā, Abu'l Hasan, Bishndās and Ghulām or Mīrzā Ghulām—only the latter's work may be identified in this Ms.¹ Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, W.650.

ff.187; 32 × 20.5cm; paper, biscuit-coloured; 14 lines of *Nasta'liq* in two columns, in panels 20 × 10.5cm with margins ruled in gold and colours; one *sarlavh*; 14 miniatures, usually larger than the text panels, about 20 × 12cm; original lacquered covers, 32 × 21cm, with interlacing floral bands on gold ground; red lacquered doublures.

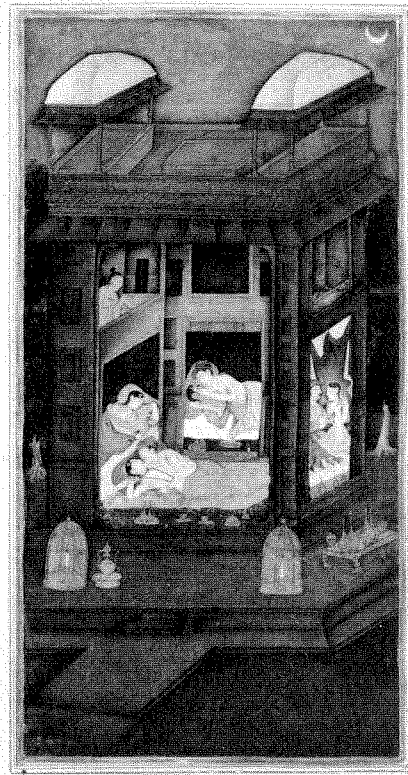
Bibliography: Ettinghausen 1961, plate 8 (col. repro. of f.22b). Beach 1978, pp.33–40 (seven repros.)

¹Beach 1978, p.34, who attributes five of the paintings to him.

73 'Divān' of Hāfiz COLOUR PLATE XXVIII

The collected poems of the Persian poet Hāfiz of Shiraz (d.791/1389). Hāfiz of Shiraz ranks as the greatest of Persian lyricists, as well as one of the greatest of Sufi poets. The Mughal emperors were especially fond of the poet, and indeed Jahāngīr used a Ms. of Hāfiz's works for taking auguries, which still survives in the Khuda Baksh Library in Bankipore, a Persian Mss. which belonged to his grandfather Humāyūn, with notes in both their hands. There has survived one large imperial copy of the work in the Rampur State Library, and two pocket-size Mss. of Mughal provenance, both in the British Library.

The smaller of the two is this minute Ms. (the panels of text originally measuring 7.9 × 4.1cm) with 19 miniatures, all of the same size as the text panels. The flyleaf has the remains of two inscriptions, one of them the holograph of Shāh Jahān dated 1037/1627, recording the Ms. coming into his library on his accession, the other more fragmentary recording the possession of the Ms. in Allahabad. This last is unfortunately not the hand of Salīm the future Jahāngīr, so that this Ms. need not necessarily be joined with the manuscripts known to be productions of the Salīm studio in Allahabad. However, it could be a later librarian's note, and there is a strong likelihood that if it was in Allahabad, it was in Salīm's library there. Only one of the 19 paintings has an attribution—f.167a, attributed to Ustad Mādū on a book in the painting itself. Mādū's work is to be found in Akbari Mss. of the 1590s, as well as the 1604 *Akbarnāma* (Nos.70–1) and the 1604–10 *Anvār-i Suhaylī* (No.75), the latter begun for Salīm in Allahabad. The paintings have all suffered from a defacer, who did dreadful damage in many of the pictures. British Library, London, Grenville XLI.



74 f.59b. The prince disguised as a mendicant in a bordello.

Provenance: Thos. Grenville Collection by 1824.

ff.258; 13 × 8cm; remargined in 18th century; original text panels and miniatures 7.9 × 4.1cm of creamy-brown paper; margins ruled in gold and crude blue and red lines; 10 lines of exquisite *Nasta'liq* script; one *sarlavh*; 19 miniatures; Iranian lacquered covers c.1800.

Bibliography: BM 1879, p.629. BL 1977, pp.58–9. BM 1976, p.59.

74 'Rāj Kunvār'

A romance in Persian, of dubious title ('King's son'), apparently anonymous, doubtless a translation of a Hindu story, concerning a prince who is obliged to disguise himself as a wandering mendicant and go through various fantastic adventures in order to win his beloved. The Ms. is dated 1012/1603–4, and was done at Allahabad. There can be no doubt that it was done there at Salīm's studio. The 51 paintings are closely linked stylistically with the non-Persianized paintings in Salīm's *Divān* of Hasan Dihlavi (No.72), and *Anvār-i Suhaylī* (No.75), in their palette and general simplicity of composition. Again, remargining has deprived us of the attribution to painters, but as Ashok Das has pointed out¹, four of them must be the work of Bishndās, as his style of portrayal of women is unmistakable, and in the same early manner as the

painting he contributed to Salīm's *Anvār-i Suhaylī* (No.75). The paintings if full-page are wider but no higher than the text panels, and are often contained within the latter with a line or two of text above and below.

Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ind. MS.37.

ff.132; 29 × 17.5cm; light-brown polished paper; remargined with much lighter paper; 12 lines of elegant *Nasta'liq* in panels 19 × 10.5cm with margins ruled in gold; one *sarlavh* in gold and blue, with 18th-century additions of Hindu divinities; 51 paintings, often contained within text panels, but sometimes wider; modern covers of red silk.

Bibliography: Only a few pages have been published: Hayes 1963, plate 7.

¹Das 1971, reproduces ff.60b and 106a; ff.15b and 122a he also attributes to Bishndās.

75 'Anvār-i Suhaylī' COLOUR PLATE XXVII

The Lights of Canopus, by Husayn Vā'iz Kāshifī (see No.49).

Of the manuscripts produced for Salīm at Allahabad this is the only one which gives us any definite information about the artists he took with him, since it is signed and dated 1013/1604 on two of its paintings dedicated to Pādishāh Salīm by the artist Muhammad Rizā, who also contributed another four paintings. Jahāngīr in his memoirs boasts of how the famous Persian painter Āqā Rizā was his protégé from his entry into India, an event which took place some time prior to 1584, in which year was born Āqā Rizā's son Abu'l Hasan, who is known from an inscription on a youthful portrait of his dated 1009/1600 to have been born in the palace. Āqā Rizā is known to have worked at Allahabad for Salīm in designing the garden where his wife was buried in 1604. It may be assumed that the father took his son with him to Allahabad, as Abu'l Hasan contributed a stunning painting to this Ms. However, the colophon of the Ms. is dated 1019/1610–11, so that the remaining 29 paintings could have been contributed at any time between the two dates either in Allahabad or in the capital. Most of the paintings bear attributions; there is evidence that some of those named were in Allahabad with Salīm, such as Bishndās and Mīrzā Ghulām. The artist Bishndās painted a miniature in the Ms., illustrating the story of the Sultan of Baghdad who was infatuated with a Chinese slave-girl. Bishndās when very young contributed part of one painting to the dispersed 1589 *Bāburnāma*, a note on it saying that it was corrected by his uncle Nānhā. His next known attributed work occurs in this painting, by which time he had developed into a major artist. The

presence of his portrait on the borders of the Jahāngīr album in Tehran done between 1605–8, indicates Jahāngīr's opinion of him as a major artist, and possibly gratitude for his going to Allahabad with him. It is remarkable for its faces, Bishndās's strongest point; he was considered by Jahāngīr to excel above all in portraiture, and was sent in 1613 to Iran to take the likeness of Shāh 'Abbās. His uncle Nānhā appears from his earlier work to be a painter of Deccani origin, and we are inclined to think that Bishndās learnt from him such Deccani traits as the attendant's fly-whisk, the long trailing scarf of the dancer, and the marvellously subtle colouring of muslin over orange and mauve, an effect beloved by Deccani painters. Very unusually for a Mughal Ms. of this period a double-page 'unvān' is included, further evidence of Jahāngīr's Iranian taste at this time.

An interesting feature of this Ms. is the long narrow format of its text panels, which may be compared to the contemporary *Akbarnāma* (Nos.70–71) and *Nafahāt al-Uns* (No.69). Sometimes the painters keep within the boundaries of the panels, at others they extend their work outwards into the margins. The somewhat clumsy remargining of the Ms. in the 18th century has reduced the impact of some of these latter paintings.

British Library, London, Add.18579.

ff.426; 24.5 × 15cm; pale-beige paper; *Naskhī* script, 19 lines in panels 15.5 × 7.2cm, with margins ruled in colours and gold; a splendid double-page 'unvān' in deep blue, gold and black, with polychrome floral arabesques; 36 attributed miniatures (see BL 1977); 18th-century remargining; covers blocked in gold, with doublures in red leather with stamped medallions and spandrels, gilded; edges of leaves stamped in gold patterns.

Bibliography: BM 1879, p.755. BL 1977, pp.62–3. BM 1976, p.59. Wilkinson 1929 [all paintings repro. in colour].

76 'Divān' of Hāfiz COLOUR PLATE XXIX

The collected poems of Hāfiz (see No.73). This exquisite little manuscript of Hāfiz is now in two parts, the major part in the British Library (the bulk of the text plus eight miniatures), and the remainder with one miniature in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (Ind. MS.15). The Ms. is lacking a colophon, but is a product of the Mughal atelier, written in an exquisite *Nasta'liq*, and with every page decorated, like the 1581 *Gulistān* (No.58), with minutely detailed paintings of birds in the margins and spaces between the verses. They are smaller even than in the 1581 Ms., and are even greater triumphs of the miniaturist's art in their exquisite finish

and perfect naturalism. The *shamsa* and *sarlavh* on each side of folio 1 are of undoubted Mughal provenance of the late Akbar period¹, and may be assigned to about the same period as the other little Hāfiz Ms., No.73, about 1600.

The miniatures, however, are somewhat later. Of the eight in the British Library portion, the first five are more or less connected to the text of the *Divān*, dealing with subjects such as dervishes, taverns, drinking parties and so on, as does the miniature in Dublin. The last three show the Emperor Jahāngīr. In the first he is playing polo with his sons Parvīz and Khurram, and Mīrzā Abu'l Hasan, Āsaf Khān, who in 1611 became his brother-in-law. In the next he is out hunting with a falcon in a landscape with attendants, unidentifiable, when stopped by an angel, a sequence which does have a justification in the text, which has the sentence—'an angel has grasped his stirrup'. In the third he is shown seated in a pavilion with courtiers. Stchoukine has identified this scene as the presentation of jewels to his father by Prince Khurram (the future Shāh Jahān) at Urta near Kabul in 1607. This identification does not however explain the presence of the prostrating figure beside Khurram, and there is a strong likelihood that this may be Prince Karan of Mewar, and the subject the submission of the prince to Jahāngīr at Ajmer in 1614, as recorded in the Emperor's Memoirs. It is the work of one of the master artists of the atelier in its marvellous portraiture in a tiny compass.

The presence of Mīrzā Abu'l Hasan in the polo scene in such an intimate family game, strongly suggests that this was painted after he became the Emperor's brother-in-law through the marriage of his sister Nūr Jahān, an event which took place in 1611, while the following year his daughter Arjmand Bānū married Prince Khurram. Stchoukine has plausibly suggested Manohar as the artist of the polo scene, and Beach Balchand for the lovely f.42a of a youth being enticed to a party. The scene with Jahāngīr and Khurram is the work of a brilliant portraitist who is definitely not Manohar, Bishndās or Bichitr, but may be Abu'l Hasan, of whose portrait work at this time little has survived, or Govardhan who painted a similar darbar scene now in the Rampur Library.² One is inclined to ascribe to Abu'l Hasan the marvellous dancing dervishes (f.66b). No artist is credited with the painting of the approximately 1,000 birds which decorate the Ms., but in their thin brushwork with delicately sketched in background they are consonant with the work of Mansur at this period.³

British Library, London, Or.7573.

ff.278; 14 × 9cm; text on biscuit-toned

paper; nine lines of exquisite *Nasta'liq* script in double columns in panels 7.1 × 4.1 cm ruled in gold; the outer margins are of much later date, of a grey paper; one *shamsa*, one *sarlavh*, with prominent blues, greens, pinks, and purples; eight miniatures, added about 10 years after the Ms., about 8 × 5 cm to 10.3 × 6.5 cm, in spaces left blank, now under glass; text in modern binding, on guards.

Bibliography: BM 1968, p.53. BL 1977, p.60. Stchoukine 1931. Barrett and Gray 1963, pp.100-1, repro. of ff.42a and 66b in colour. CB 1936, pp.78-80, and plate 97, for the other part of this Ms., in 53 folios, with forged inscriptions and seals from another Ms. of Akbar's reign, and a different margin.

¹Arnold and Wilkinson (CB 1936) seem to think the Chester Beatty part earlier than this, for no obvious reason, as the calligraphy and illumination is typically Mughal c.1600.

²P. Brown 1924, frontispiece.

³Basil Gray has pointed out two Mss. similarly decorated with birds at the Mughal court, a *Divān* of Shāhī in Paris and another Hāfiz in the Chester Beatty Library Dublin (P.150).

77 'Khamṣa' of Mīr 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī COLOUR PLATE XXXI

Five *masnavī* poems, written in imitation of, and on the same themes as, the *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī, but in Chagatay or eastern Turkish, by the greatest poet in the language, Navā'ī (1440-1501). He was a friend from boyhood of Sultan Husayn Bayqara, the ruler of Herat (1468-1506) and patron of the greatest of Persian painters, Bihzād.

The text of this Ms. was written in the author's lifetime in 897/1492 in Herat by the great calligrapher Sultan 'Alī of Mashhad, and furnished with superb illuminations in the Herati style. It subsequently found its way to Bokhara, doubtless after the Uzbek sack of Herat in 1506, and it would appear that miniatures were added to it there, the spaces having been left blank originally. One of the miniatures has an inscription with a date 947/1540.

It is difficult to judge what the subject or compositions of these Bokhara paintings may have been; there are only six, all towards the beginning of the Ms. in the first poem. All, however, have been over-painted in the Mughal studio. On folio 1b is an inscription in the hand of Jahāngīr dated 1014/1605, stating that the Ms. 'one of my most treasured books' entered the royal library in the first year of the reign when 'the paintings were completed in my workshop'. This gives us the date of the repainting as 1605, and must have been one of the first tasks Jahāngīr set his artists after his accession. The names of the artists are recorded as: folio 5b-Nānhā and Manohar; f.6a-Narsingh; f.12b Dhanraj; f.20b-Govardhan; f.31a-

Mohan; f.36b-Govardhan. Only the first of these is an original Mughal painting, a magnificent version after a European painting of the Last Judgement, Christ in Majesty above and the Resurrection of the Dead below. Needless to say it has nothing to do with the text. The other miniatures show mostly repainting of faces and landscape in the Mughal manner. Jahāngīr presumably considered the Bokharan paintings did not match up to the Herati illumination and calligraphy, and had them improved accordingly.

Royal Library, Windsor Castle, MS. A.8. ff.308; 34 × 22.5 cm; paper dark-biscuit in tone, gold flecked; 25 lines of *Nasta'liq* in four columns in panels 23.5 × 15 cm with margins ruled in colours and gold; ff.1b/2a, superb Herati *'unvān*; six miniatures, about the same size as text panels; f.1a, Bokhara seal dated 947/1540 and seals of Shāh Jahān (1037/1627) and Aurangzīb; inscriptions of Jahāngīr (1014/1605) and Shāh Jahān (1037/1627); covers of brown leather with stamped medallions and margins.

Bibliography: Robinson 1951, No.65. BM 1976, p.63.

78 'Muraqqa' of Jahāngīr

An album of paintings and calligraphic specimens, mounted in specially painted *hashīya* (borders) and assembled by the Emperor Jahāngīr (1605-27).

Two large collections of Jahāngīr album pages still survive: the earliest, the *Muraqqa' Gulshān*, in the Gulistan Palace Library, Tehran, contains work dated from 1599 to 1609, the second, this one, contains work dated from 1608 to 1618, while a number of separate pages are known from various collections with the remarkable borders for which the albums are famous.¹ The *Gulshān* Album is a much larger collection than the Berlin Album, but both exhibit the same type of work: Persian paintings, including ones attributed to Bihzād,² earlier Mughal paintings, including ones attributed to 'Abd as-Samad and of the Humāyūn period,³ contemporary portraits of courtiers and royal personages, a few Deccani paintings, and European prints and paintings with Mughal versions and copies of them. The calligraphic specimens are dominated by the work of Mīr 'Alī (see No.55) with some pages by the even more famous Sultan 'Alī of Mashhad (d.1520).

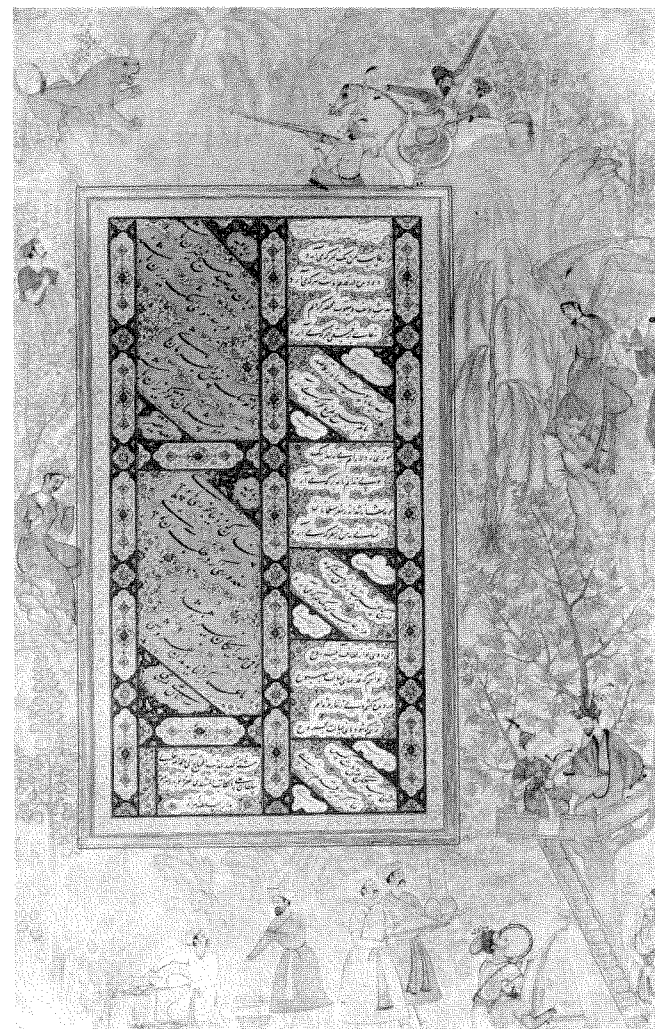
Originally the albums were put together with painting facing painting and calligraphy facing calligraphy, and the borders painted accordingly, more subdued and with no figural representation round the paintings, but exuberant and with fully coloured figures round the calligraphy. So many pages have disappeared from the Berlin Album that little of

this careful construction remains.

Jahāngīr had started to collect paintings into albums when still a prince. He states in his Memoirs how the Persian painter Āqā Rīzā had worked for him since coming to India (some time before 1584) and his earliest identifiable work is in the *Gulshān* Album, although his earliest dated pages are the border paintings of 1599, which speak of Salīm as Shāh,⁴ the title he took to himself in that year in rebellion against his father. In common with border paintings of the manuscripts of the 1590s (Nos.64-7), these are painted usually in heavier tones of gold with colour only for the faces and highlights. By contrast Daulat's border paintings in the same album⁵, some of which are dated 1609, are in full colour, but there is no necessary chronological progression in this difference, more an artist's taste. None of the Berlin Album border paintings which are later is executed in full colour.

Bishndās is the only other artist whose work is signed in the *Gulshān* Album. In the Berlin Album, border paintings are signed by Bālchand, and Govardhan, while several of the portraits are either signed by, or attributed to (in the hand of Jahāngīr), Abu'l Hasan, Bishndās and Manohar. Bālchand is first known from his border paintings on folios 17a and 60b of the 1595 *Bahārīstān* done for Akbar (No.64), while Govardhan and the other three artists are themselves the subject of penetrating portrait studies by Daulat on the margins of page 44 of the *Gulshān* Album.

The subject of these border paintings was anything that took the artist's fancy. Portraits however must have been executed on royal orders; this was a tradition that appealed to artists working on the Shāh Jahān albums, where full colour portraits in the borders often surround the main portrait painting. Other favourite sources of inspiration were animals and hunting scenes, probably worked up from sketches but with the artists still revelling in their immediacy and liveliness; European subjects, taken from the Flemish and German prints which so appealed to Jahāngīr; studies of usually unnamed shaikhs and holy men, courtiers, and ladies; workmen, including valuable studies of papermakers and burnishers, bookbinders and scribes and artists at work, all taken from the life in the imperial studies (fol. 18a of the Berlin Album); and copies of features of earlier paintings. One of the finest of the portraits is Daulat's copy of a portrait of the great poet Jāmī by Bihzād, on page 140 of the *Gulshān* Album. One of the finest pages in the Berlin Album shows Humāyūn in a tree-platform with a young prince, presumably Akbar, presenting a book; this is probably after the full painting by 'Abd as-Samad



78 f.24. Illuminated *hashīya* (border-decorations), including Humāyūn and the young Akbar in a tree. Calligraphy by Sultan 'Alī al-Mashhadi.

mounted in the *Gulshān* Album of Akbar presenting a painting to Humāyūn in a similar platform⁶.

Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Berlin, Libr. pict. A.117.

ff.25; 40 × 22 cm; margins, creamy paper, sometimes tinted buff or pink, with decorations in gold and colours; central panels of calligraphy or paintings, of varying sizes.

Bibliography: Kühnel and Goetz 1926. Beach 1978, pp.43-59. Godard 1936.

¹Beach 1978, pp.43-59.

²BWG, plate LXVII.

³BWG, plates CIV and CV.

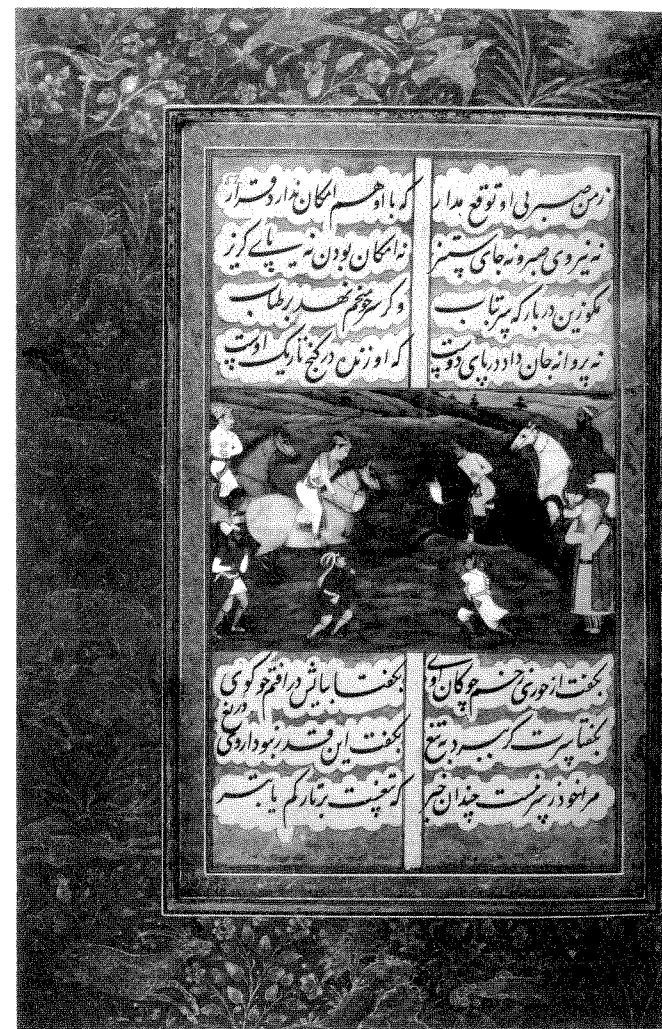
⁴Godard 1936, pp.13-8.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp.18-33.

⁶BWG, plate CIVB.

79 'Būstān'

The Flower-garden of Sa'dī (see No.42) written in 655/1257, at the same time as the *Gulīstān*. This Ms. of the *Būstān* is likewise a companion to the *Gulīstān* (No.80), both of them being prepared in



79 f.52. A young prince playing polo watched by the dervish who dotes on him.

Agra for Shāh Jahān in 1629-30, and copied by the same calligrapher, Hakīm Rukn ad-Dīn Mas'ud, called Hakīm Rukna. This person was a native of Kashan who was a poet at the court of Shah 'Abbās, came to India in the time of Akbar and became one of the favourite poets at the court of Shāh Jahān. He then returned to his native country where he died at the advanced age of 105 lunar years either in 1057/1647 or 1066/1655-6. No other product of his penmanship seems to be known. Both manuscripts are in the same format, on a large scale, with very large calligraphy and small paintings in a horizontal format across the page, and wide borders, covered with gold designs in the case of the *Būstān*. This somewhat odd relationship between painting and text has an obvious predecessor in the *Gulīstān* produced for Jahāngīr about 1605-10, of which only the small horizontal pictures survive.¹

Jahāngīr had no desire to produce the heavily illustrated manuscripts so typical of his father's reign, and instead experimented with various formats to express

his individual connoisseurship—compilation of *muraqqa's*, the addition of paintings to earlier manuscripts, and, in the instance of the *Gulīstān*, the return to an earlier format of composition, the horizontal strip, almost universal in 14th-century Iranian manuscripts and very common still in the 15th. With the disappearance of the text of his *Gulīstān*, it is not possible to say how it worked in that instance, but in Shāh Jahān's two manuscripts the effect is none too successful—the paintings are too small for the size of the manuscript, and the richness and heaviness of the pigments used ill accords with their status as book illustrations. They are still, however, on the whole exquisite little paintings, none of them unfortunately ascribed, but in the case of five by some of the best artists of the period. Pinder-Wilson has distinguished four hands in their production.

British Library, London, Add.27262.

Provenance: obtained by Sir John Malcolm in Kirmanshah in 1810—acquired from his son in 1865.

ff.175; 38×25.5cm; paper; 12 lines of large *Nasta'liq* in double columns in panels 25×14.5cm, the text on ivory-toned paper in clouds on gold, framed in borders of various colours with gold arabesques; laid in margins of pink, blue, green, purple and yellow, all with drawings in gold of animals, birds, plants, etc; *sarlavh* on f.1b, with floral illumination around colophon on f.175a, and rectangular panels of illumination on this and the preceding page; 10 miniatures between 5.5×14.5 and 9.5×14.5cm; covers 19th century, painted and glazed, but with the damaged original lacquered covers laid down as doublures—the latter show a central medallion with pendants and cornerpieces of arabesques on gold, with animals and birds, real and imaginary, sporting in a landscape.

Bibliography: BM 1879, p.603. BL 1977, p.146. BM 1976, pp.80–1. Pinder-Wilson 1957.

¹Beach 1978, pp.66–70.

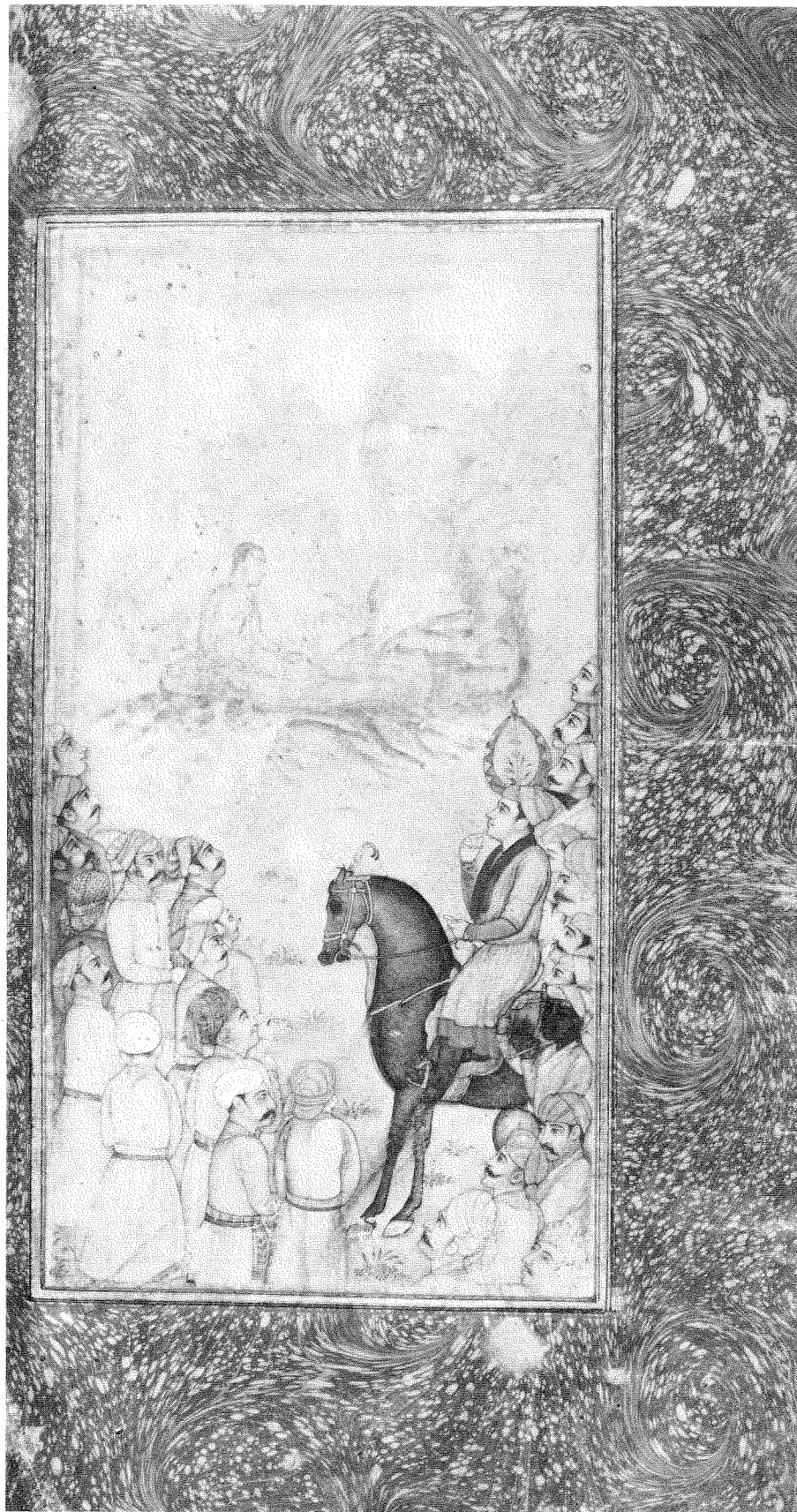
80 'Gulistān'

Illustrated on p.84.

The Rose-garden of Sa'di (see No.55).

The *Gulistān* accompanying No.79, is dated *Jumada I*, 1038 (Dec. 1628–Jan. 1629) at Agra. Both Mss. are written in the same very large hand, with wide margins. The *Gulistān*'s text is on white clouds on gold throughout, and has been remargined with wide borders of almost white paper, sprinkled with gold. There are nine miniatures in all, across the centre of the text panels, some of them being in a somewhat larger format than the *Būstān* miniatures, almost square. The effect is possibly even more unhappy than with the smaller miniatures. Imperial Mughal painting at this time was mostly involved with portraits, darbar scenes, and other paintings indicative of the power and glory of the Mughal *imperium*, or with natural-history paintings. The attempt to reduce the formal, static qualities of this type of painting into a true format of manuscript illustration was singularly unsuccessful, the grandeur of the former being turned to an unnatural stiffness.

Shāh Jahān himself must have felt that Mughal painting was now entirely unsuited to manuscript illustration, and had no more prepared other than the grand history of the reign (No.82), which is on the largest scale and in which the formal, hieratic qualities of the painting of his studio are seen to best advantage. He can hardly have cared very much for this *Gulistān*, since when the necessity arose to send a present to King Charles I of England, it was this Ms. which he selected and suitably inscribed on the reverse of the colophon page, in Wilkinson's translation: 'on the 17th of the month of Šafar



81 f.17. Prince Daniyal watches as the flames consume the *satī* and her dead lover.

of the year 11 [of the reign] corresponding to the year 1048 of the Hijrah, this exquisite *Golestān*, resembling the Garden of Eden, and in the writing of the Nādir of the time, Mawlānā Hakīm Roknā, I have sent as a gift to the glorious and exalted King of England. Written by Shibāb al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh Jahān Pādishāh, son of Nūr al-Dīn Jahāngīr Pādishāh, son of Jalāl al-Dīn Akbar Pādishāh'. The date corresponds to AD 1638, and we do not know what occasion prompted the gift.

The Ms. remained in the royal library for nearly two centuries, when George IV sent it as a gift to the Shah of Persia, Fath 'Alī Shāh, in 1827, having had it rebound in red velvet embroidered with the initials of George IV and a crown, and with the emblems of the kingdoms in the corners. Another inscription records, again in Wilkinson's translation: 'as ordered by his Majesty, Fath 'Alī Shāh, this *Golestān*, written in India, was brought as a gift by a special envoy from the glorious George, King of England, and has been placed . . . in the Royal Library among the special royal books. Written in Jumāda II, 1242 A.H. (i.e. January 1827)'. The Ms. subsequently (1259/1843) entered the library of Bahmān Mīrzā, elder son of the Crown Prince 'Abbās Mīrzā, and presumably remained in his library until his death in 1884.

Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ind. MS.22.

ff.119; 35×26.5cm; paper, biscuit-coloured, entirely remargined with gold-sprinkled thick white paper; 12 lines of large *Nasta'liq*, in clouds on gold ground, in panels about 25×15cm with margins ruled in gold and colours; one *sarlavh*, with two birds; nine miniatures, all contained in text panels with text above and below; English binding of c.1825, covered in red velvet.

Bibliography: Wilkinson 1957.

81 'Sūz u Gudāz'

'Burning and Melting', the story of a Hindu princess who burnt herself on her husband's pyre in the reign of Akbar, a Persian *masnavī* by Muhammad Rizā Nau'ī of Khasbushan. The author went from Mashhad to India in the time of Akbar, and entered the service of 'Abd ar-Rahīm Khān Khānān; he seems to have stayed at Burhanpur with his patron and Prince Daniyal, Akbar's younger son, at the time of the attack on Ahmadnagar in 1599–1600, and to have remained based there until his death in 1019/1610. Daniyal died in 1602 of acute alcoholism, but was the inspirer of Nau'ī's *Sūz u Gudāz*. The poet tells us in his introduction of how the prince told him how weary they were of the old heroes and heroines of Persian poetry—Khusraw and Shirin,

Laila and Majnun – 'if we read at all, let it be what we have seen and beheld ourselves'. The story concerns a real hero and heroine, betrothed since birth, who were parted by the bridegroom's death on his way to the marriage. Not even Akbar could persuade the girl not to join her lover in the flames of his pyre, and he commanded his son Daniyal to convey her to the pyre as she wished, which she freely entered.

This lovely little Ms. is attributable to about 1630, with three miniatures and all its text panels laid in marbled paper of sombre hue, possibly contemporary with the text. We know little about marbling in India, although Cary Welch thinks it a speciality of Bijapur, to which he attributes two extraordinary 'drawings' in marbling¹. The three miniatures showing the meeting of the lovers, Akbar's attempt to dissuade the girl from suttee, and the burning of the lovers on the pyre watched by Daniyal, are in a subdued *nimqalam* style that heightens their pathos. The final scene is especially effective, the solidity of the onlookers contrasting with the faintness of the two figures in the pyre, already etherealised by their passion.

British Library, London, Or.2839.

ff.24; 21×11cm; paper; text in 15 lines of *Nasta'liq* in double columns on gold-sprinkled paper in panels 14.5×7.5cm with margins ruled in gold and colours, laid in borders of marbled paper, mostly slate-blue and ochre; one *sarlavh* of good quality; three miniatures of same size as panels; 18th-century European binding with Kissa Daniel engraved on it, which is also written on the flyleaf in an 18th-century hand. Seal in Persian of Archibald Swinton Rustam Jang Bahadur dated 1174/1760.

Bibliography: BM 1895, p.200. BL 1977, p.135. Dawud and Coomaraswamy 1912, with reproductions of the three miniatures.

¹S.C. Welch 1976, pp.74–5.

82 'Pādshāhnāma'

COLOUR PLATE XXXII

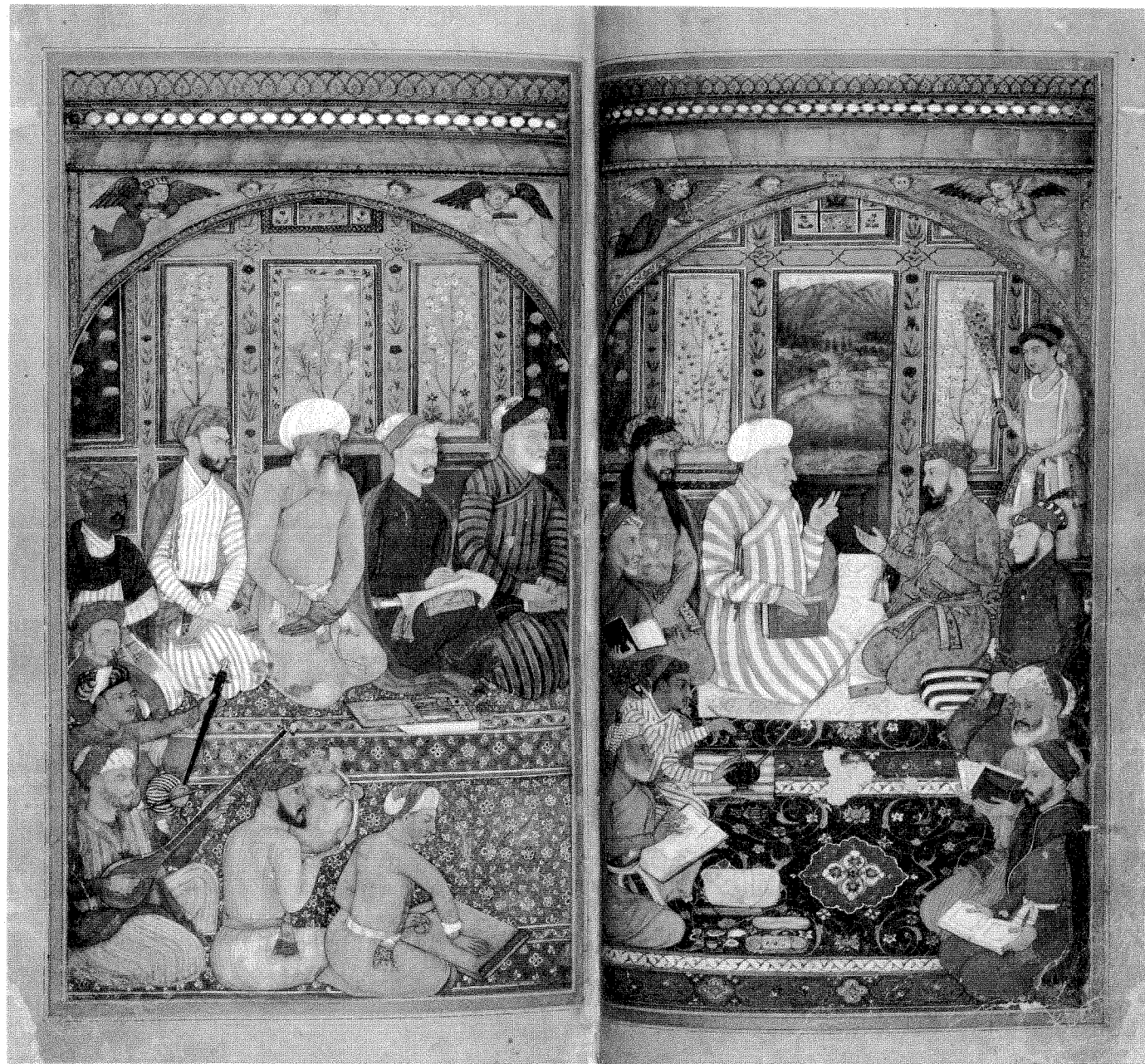
The official History of the Emperor Shāh Jahān (1627–58), by 'Abd al-Hamīd Lahorī. In 1635 Muhammad 'Amīn Qazvīnī was entrusted by the Emperor Shāh Jahān with the task of writing the official history of the first ten years of the reign (1627–37), but beginning with the Emperor's birth. This was duly presented to the Emperor after a ten year delay in 1646¹; it was given the title of *Pādshāhnāma*, the History of the Emperor, but he transferred the author to other duties and entrusted the official chronicling of the reign to 'Abd al-Hamīd Lahorī, a pupil of Abu'l Fazl with instructions to rewrite Muhammad 'Amīn's

history of the first ten years in a much more flowery style.

It is not stated when precisely 'Abd al-Hamīd was recalled from retirement in Patna to write the history, only that the Emperor was not entirely satisfied with Muhammad 'Amīn's text and required something more akin to the bombastic panegyric style of Abu'l Fazl's *Akbar-nāma*, of which Lahorī was a master². The inference must be that this was in 1646, when he had received Qazvīnī's version. 'Abd al-Hamīd died in 1654–5, having completed only the first two decades of the reign and the work was completed up to the end of the third decade (1656–7) by his pupil Muhammad Wārith. The whole work must have been copied out immediately by the scribe Muhammad 'Amīn of Masnhad³, as this, the imperial presentation copy, is dated 1067/1656–7.

It is doubtful if the full manuscript with all its miniatures was ever completed. According to Beach, of the 44 miniatures in the volume, some 37 refer to events in the first ten years of the reign, and another four to events prior to Shāh Jahān's accession⁴; of these last, two are towards the beginning of the volume and the others inserted, apparently at random, towards the end. The remainder show him in old age, including a frontispiece portrait of him. None of the paintings within the Ms. actually bears a date of composition but three dated paintings out of about ten known pages which either were intended for the Ms. or else have been removed from it seem to refer to the date of composition being the actual date of the event. If this is the case, then most of the paintings in the volume can be dated at about the time of the event they depict; it was always intended that they be bound into the official history when it was completed. However, Shāh Jahān's dissatisfaction with Qazvīnī's long-delayed text may have dissuaded him from commissioning more pictorial records of events during the middle years of his reign, when he was in any case more concerned with architecture, in the building of new palaces in Delhi. No contemporary paintings are known of the buildings of Delhi or of the Taj Mahāl, even though they form so large a part of the miniatures illustrating the numerous histories of Shāh Jahān prepared around 1800 (see Nos.107, 137). In any case the revolt of Aurangzīb put an end to his imperial patronage, and the Ms. was put together with what paintings were available.

The imperial copy of the *Pādshāhnāma* is the last of the great Mughal manuscripts, representing the culmination of many of the trends apparent in Mughal painting since 1600. The emphasis of the paintings, as of the text, is on formal occasions—darbars, battles, processions and other great state occasions, so that the



83 ff. 19b, 20. Zafar Khān in Kashmir with poets and scholars while an artist takes their likenesses. By Bishndas (?).

paintings present a coldly formal appearance, in which the technique of portraiture is at its most brilliant, without any of the warmth or spontaneity which imbue Jahāngīri painting. These pages in the *Pādshāhnāma* along with some of the pages in the Shāh Jahān albums are technically the most brilliant of all Mughal paintings, building directly on the advancement in technique made possible by Jahāngīr. No longer is there even the slightest clash between the disparate European and Indian elements which can create such unintended tension to a European viewer, while some of the artists were now the masters of perspective and of a landscape technique of the greatest richness, as in the battle for Hooghly

(f. 117a) or Payāg's battle-scene⁵ or the unattributed hunting-scene (f. 165a)⁶. An artist such as 'Abīd in his Death of Khān Jahān (f. 93b) is the master of a technique of composition that has almost the feel of the European Baroque⁷.

Gray has claimed that the Ms. was subject to two 'improvements' after 1657, once in the period after the death of Aurangzīb (1707) and again during its residence in Lucknow⁸. Only now is the full achievement of Shāh Jahān's artists being fully realised, so that there was understandable confusion in the earlier literature about this period. There was indeed a revival of Mughal painting after the death of Aurangzīb, but even though still brilliant in its draughtsmanship and

painterly techniques (see No. 106), it lacked the imagination to produce anything of the scale and power of these *Pādshāhnāma* pages. The Ms. itself was taken to Lucknow some time before 1776, as seals of that date belonging to Āsaf Jhā the Vazir of Oudh are found throughout the manuscript, and Gray's charge that paintings were added there is indeed a much more serious one. There is a variation in the quality of the work, particularly between certain facing pages, that suggests that some paintings have been removed and copies substituted, a well-known practice at the end of the 18th century. However, it has recently been claimed that all the paintings are in fact original, and the full publication of the Ms. with

supporting evidence for this opinion is eagerly awaited.

Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

ff. 239; 45.5 × 28.5 cm; paper; original text panels, with 21 lines of *Nasta'liq*, 34.5 × 18.8 cm, with margins ruled in gold and colours; all remounted in 18th-century frames with gold arabesque designs; opening *shamsa* of superb illuminative quality (f. 1a); two pages of illumination around portraits of Tīmūr and of Shāh Jahān in old age (ff. 1b, 2a); 44 paintings, with attributions to ten named artists, being Bālchand, Bichitr, Payāg, Murād, Rām Dās, Nola (Bola?), 'Abīd, Lālchand, Mīr Dast, and Daula, the paintings slightly less high than the text panels (with a few exceptions) and somewhat wider; splendid covers gilded with floral borders and central medallion, with doublures of gold on green with similar pattern, doubtless from Lucknow; the Ms. is still kept in the large silk wrapping cloth from the Lucknow library.

Bibliography: BM 1976, p. 88. Beach 1978, pp. 78–84 (for folios dispersed from the Ms. in particular). Gascoigne 1971, p. 145 (col. repro. of f. 50b by Bichitr) and p. 149 (detail of f. 194a by Payāg). AIP, pp. 168–9 (repro. of f. 117a). Barrett and Gray 1963, pp. 112–4 (col. repro. of f. 165a).

¹Elliot and Dowson, vol. VII, p. 1.

²*Ibid.*, p. 3.

³Beach 1978, p. 78.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 28–9.

⁵Welch 1978, col. plate 33.

⁶Barrett and Gray 1963, p. 113.

⁷Welch 1963, fig. 4.

⁸Barrett and Gray 1963, pp. 112–4.

83 'Masnavi' of Zafar Khān

Verses by Zafar Khān, son of Khvāja Abu'l Hasan, one of the chief nobles of the reign of Shāh Jahān, copied by the author in Lahore in 1073/1663. Zafar Khān was at various times Governor of Kabul, Kashmir and Sind, and was besides noted as a patron of letters, poets and artists. The most important poet patronized by Zafar Khān was Sa'ib of Tabriz, the inventor of the 'modern' style in Persian poetry, who visited him in Kabul, on his way to the court of Shāh Jahān, and again in Kashmir when he was made Governor in 1631–2. Zafar Khān remained Governor of Kashmir until 1639, and then again from 1641 until shortly before 1651, when he was appointed to the Governorship of Sind. At the beginning of Aurangzīb's reign in 1657 he was pensioned off and apparently retired to Lahore where he died either in 1663 or 1672 according to different sources.

This autograph copy of the *Masnavi* is finely illuminated only in part, and was not apparently finished. It has six double-page miniatures (of which one pair has been wrongly bound in separate parts), without any text at all on them, as well as

marginal illuminations which peter out half way through the volume. The miniatures show scenes from the life of Zafar Khān, in three of which he is represented in darbar with Shāh Jahān, in the opening one represented on a terrace with river and city and plain beyond. The other five double-page paintings are all set in Kashmir, and the presence of Shāh Jahān in two of them doubtless records the occasion mentioned in the *Ma'āthir al-Umarā* when Shāh Jahān visited Zafar Khān in Kashmir and inspected the garden he had laid out in Zafarabad¹. This event took place in 1644. In the paintings Shāh Jahān is shown with Dārā Shikoh, and Zafar Khān and his brother, and other nobles, once on a platform near a waterfall in a beautifully laid out Mughal garden (ff. 15b, 16a)², and once beside a large pool with arcading around it (ff. 25b, 26a). The former garden might be that of Zafar Khān, but it seems more like the Nishat Bagh. The latter appears to be the Vernag garden, an octagonal pool surrounded by an arcade, a garden much loved by Jahāngīr.³

The other paintings show Zafar Khān in martial mood, reviewing troops (ff. 11b, 12a)⁴, and in more relaxed mood with poets and scholars. The ones most admired by him are listed in his autograph *Divān* now in the Khuda Baksh Library in Bankipore⁵. His biography in the *Ma'āthir al-Umarā* further informs us that he had made an album with a selection of the poems of every poet who had been connected with him, written in their own handwriting, with the likeness of the poet painted on the reverse.⁶ Some such scene appears to be going on in ff. 19b, 20a, showing Zafar Khān and his brother in the company of poets and scholars in a highly decorated pavilion in Kashmir (through the open doorway can be seen a pyramidal-roofed Kashmiri building with the hills beyond). In the forefront sits an artist sketching a portrait, while among the poets one is engaged in writing on a piece of gold-sprinkled paper, a sure sign of an attempt at fine calligraphy, while many hold open books in their hands.

There seems little doubt that all these paintings were painted in the late 1640s to commemorate Zafar Khān's tour of duty in Kashmir, and were subsequently added to the *Masnavi*, with which they have little connection, on its completion in 1663. All of them are on a much thicker paper than the folios of text, with darker margins. The paintings are all by the one hand, a brilliant portraitist, whose studies of the poets in Zafar Khān's gathering are a joy in their range of vivid expression. Milo Beach has attributed them to Bishndās,⁷ whose latest signed work is datable about 1620. We follow Beach in this attribution, as the idiosyncracies of the painter of the *Masnavi*'s miniatures, particularly his

generalized facial types for women and attendants with their characteristic outline, and the sharpness of the observation of the portraits, recalls Bishndās's work. By the late 1640s he would have been in his 70s, the apparent age of the painter depicted on f. 19b. It is now generally accepted that depictions of painters in the grand Jahāngīri and Shāh Jahāni paintings are in fact self-portraits of the artists, so that we may take this to be a self-portrait of Bishndās in old age.

Royal Asiatic Society, London, MS. Persian 310.

ff. 122; 25 × 14 cm; thin paper; 15 lines of *Nasta'liq* in two columns on gold-sprinkled paper in panels ruled in gold; 15.5 × 7 cm; margins decorated with stencilled gold flowers and plants up to f. 44b with outlines drawn in up to folio 95, and the last 27 folios without any marginal decoration; *sarlawhs* on ff. 1b, 29b and 31b, with exquisitely minute flowers; margins on ff. 29b, 30a and 31b, 32a in gold with fully painted flowers; headings in gold throughout in panels, on white clouds against blue etc. up to f. 36a; triangular illuminated panels (f. 21b, 22a, 24b, 25a, 27b, 28a); five double-page and two separate miniatures, the latter originally meant to be facing one another, but were misplaced (to ff. 22b and 27a) when being pasted in presumably in 1663 – both have text panels on the other side which are in their rightful places according to the catchwords; all the paintings are larger than the text panels, the largest being 20.5 × 10.5 cm (one half of the composition); reddish-brown oriental covers rebound in the European style.

Bibliography: RAS 1892, p. 541. AIP, p. 168. Pinder-Wilson 1957.

¹Navāz Khān 1911–52, p. 1017.

²Pinder-Wilson 1957, fig. 15.

³Crowe 1972, p. 51 (colour plate). Both painting and photograph show the pool swarming with fish.

⁴Pinder-Wilson 1957, figs. 16 and 17.

⁵OPLB, vol. 3, pp. 117–20.

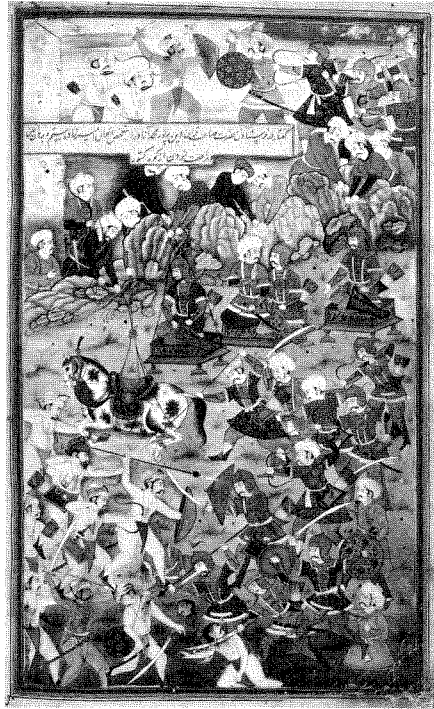
⁶Navāz Khān 1911–52, p. 1019.

⁷Beach 1978, pp. 110–11.

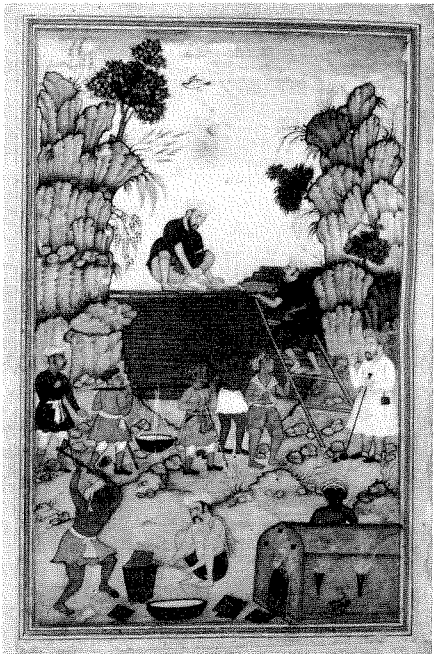
Delhi and the Provinces, 1600–1850

So far we have traced the development of the Mughal style at the imperial centres—Agra, Fathpur Sikri, Lahore, Agra and Delhi. But even though the imperial style was a rarified court product, it was nourished in its early days by streams of artists from all over India who aspired to make the grade in the studio, and in turn it contributed to the artistic life of India outside the imperial court. For many of those who joined were found eventually to be lacking the desired qualities and had to leave, but had picked up the basic elements of the style; while changes in taste and patronage at the court itself resulted in artists being laid off. Thus it is unlikely that during the 1590s Akbar would have retained the full complement of artists needed in the 1580s for the large series of historical manuscripts, while Jahāngīr on his accession must have drastically pruned the numbers of artists and other craftsmen in the imperial studio. Such artists had various alternatives. Some sought employment with other patrons, such as ‘Abd ar-Rahim Khānkhanān, one of the chief officials under Akbar and Jahāngīr, who maintained a flourishing bibliographic tradition in his own establishment. His huge library and munificence drew scholars from other parts of the Islamic world, but being more interested in scholarship than producing illustrated manuscripts, relatively few such manuscripts have survived associated with him. One such is an illustrated Persian version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* produced for him between 1589 and 1598, now in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, with various artists’ names inscribed, none of them known from imperial manuscripts. Some of the names however appear in the *Shāhnāma* of 1616 (No.86), such as Qāsim and Kamāl, and it would appear that the Khānkhanān was its patron. Other illustrated manuscripts also are associated with him such as a *Khamṣa* of Amīr Khusraw in Berlin (some time before 1617), and a *Panchganj* in Dublin (of about the same date). Two artists who worked on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Qāsim and Mushfiq, also worked on these two later manuscripts, demonstrating that ‘Abd ar-Rahim maintained a studio of artists over a period of some 30 years. It is unclear whether his studio was taken with him on his travels, when as a senior administrator he was put in charge of Gujarat or the Deccan. It is on the whole likely that it was, as we know of manuscripts produced for other noblemen in the provinces, one, the earliest such known, being dated 1583 from Hajipur (in Bihar), the patron being Akbar’s foster brother Mīrzā Azīz Koka. Another manuscript of the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* without patron’s name is dated Ahmadabad, 1600 (No.84) with paintings in the same style as a *Zafarnāma* of the same date (No.85); both must have been produced for a patron such as the Mughal Governor of Gujarat, who was in 1600 Mīrzā Azīz Koka. It is unlikely that Azīz Koka would have kept a permanent studio in employment, but it is quite possible that he found in Ahmadabad in 1600 the necessary talent for the work he wanted done, as ‘Abd ar-Rahim had been three times Governor of the province of Gujarat and did apparently maintain his studio there.

Other artists would seem to have remained in the capital and possibly even in the imperial studio, but were now responsible for lesser-quality works. Akbar ordered copies of important works to be distributed among



85 f.182b. Tīmūr and his generals are lowered down a cliff-face during a battle in the Kaf Mountains in 1397 (No.85, p.122).



86 f.372. Alexander builds the wall against Gog and Magog. By Qāsim (No.86, p.122).



87 f.273. A dragon and locusts (No.87, p.123).



88 f.17. The sacrificial horse is shown to the ladies of Krishna's harem. By Bhagvān (No.88, p.123).

his nobles, such as the Persian translations of Bābur's Memoirs and the *Razmnāma*. Apart from the dispersed imperial copy of the *Bāburnāma*, three other versions are known from the 1590s for which an imperial provenance is likely, perhaps meant for members of the royal family, but there may have been other illustrated versions of lesser quality. Certainly an illustrated manuscript of the *Razmnāma* dated 1598 (No.88) is of a much less polished quality than contemporary imperial manuscripts, but it does have inscriptions attributing the paintings to artists who had worked on the grand manuscripts of the 1580s—Ibrāhīm Kahhar, Banvāri Khurd, Nārāyan, and others, but whose work is not found in the high-quality manuscripts of the 1590s which marked the end of the period of the mass-produced historical manuscripts.

The 1598 *Razmnāma* in fact is of two different worlds—it is still partly imperial, but in many of its paintings its style is the so-called Popular Mughal, that is paintings and manuscripts produced mostly in the capitals for patrons, apparently Hindus, unable to afford their own studios. These first appear from about 1600, the artists coming probably from the ranks of those who failed to make the grade in the imperial studio. Unlike Mughal painting done for noble patrons, which is still recognizably Mughal, even though in a simplified format, Popular Mughal painting has in many respects reverted to the type of compositions prevalent before the Mughal period—very simple compositions, the barest minimum of figures all in strict profile, simple pavilions by way of architecture, hardly any landscape other than stylized trees, no depth indicated by recession techniques, no text panels breaking up the composition. It is in fact very similar to the emergent Rajput style which will be discussed in detail below. The lovely Manley *Rāgamālā* of c.1610 (No.89) develops out of this strand of the 1598 *Razmnāma*. The only name we can put to artists practising this style at the moment is that of Ustad Sālivāhana, who produced a dated document in Agra in 1610, and another in 1624 doubtless also in Agra. These, the *Rāgamālā* (No.89) and another in Berlin, a *Rasikapriyā* manuscript in Boston, and a *Rāmāyaṇa* in Delhi form a small group of highly accomplished work. A problem still to be solved is that the paucity of artists working for Jahāngīr is unmatched by a large amount of good work executed for other patrons.

Closely linked to the Hindu Popular Mughal work of the capitals is the work done for the Rajput princes who were such powerful figures in the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr. An inscription on a *Rāgamālā* from Chunar dated 1591 provides the earliest evidence that they too had studios. It states that the set was painted by three artists who had been trained in the imperial studio and that it was completed in 999/1591 at the fort of Chunar, near Benares. There is considerable disagreement as to the authenticity of the inscription, but universal agreement that the paintings are in the Rajput style associated with the court of Bundi in south-eastern Rajasthan, whose ruler had been given Chunar as a fief by Akbar in 1576. This lovely set is archaic in its treatment of figures, in the *Caurapañcāsika* tradition, but places them in three-dimensional architecture against a richly flowering and varied landscape. The genesis of the Bundi style then, if the inscription is genuine, would be the work of three painters, who, presumably, were trained in a pre-Mughal style, tried their luck at the Mughal studio and either left or were rejected, and worked instead for the Rao of Bundi at his fief in Chunar. From it were

developed the other sets known from the Bundi studio in the early 17th century, produced either in Bundi or wherever the Rao was posted by the Emperors, such as a *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* now in the Kotah Museum of the early 17th century which is in a Popular Mughal style in terms of its treatment of landscape, people and architecture, and its high viewpoint. The treatment of architecture is three-dimensional, as it is in the 1591 *Rāgamālā* set. In both the upright format is used, the shape of the folios being that used in Mughal manuscripts, for the very first time in any Hindu text in the case of the *Rāgamālā*.

In contrast to this school of Rajput painting is that associated with Mewar in southern Rajasthan. Its ruling dynasty, the Sesodiya Rajputs, could trace its recorded history back to the foundation of Chitor in the 7th century, and as the head of the *Sūryavaṃśa* (Solar dynasty) back through the god Vishnu's avatar Rāma to the Sun itself. Under its mediaeval rulers the great rock fortress of Chitor was embellished with great temples and palaces, and its empire under Rānā Kumbha included Malwa and Gujarat. But in the 16th century, Chitor was twice captured and sacked, the second time by Akbar in 1568. However, the Rānās consistently refused to acknowledge Mughal sovereignty, and towards the end of Akbar's reign, Rānā Pratāp Singh and his son Amar Singh, driven by Akbar both from Chitor and the new capital Udaipur established by Udai Singh after 1568, were little more than bandit chieftains in the rugged hills of Mewar. The gentle arts of the court could not have been to the forefront of their minds, yet it is out of this precariously-existing Rajput household that comes the first fully authenticated document of what is usually termed Rajput or Rajasthani painting. This is a *Rāgamālā* series from Chawand, the temporary capital, dated 1605 and painted by an artist named Nāsir ad-Dīn (spelled Nusarātī in *Nāgarī*). It is a very simple set of paintings viewed from the traditional horizontal viewpoint, employing contrasting flat blocks of colour and two-dimensional architecture, against which are ranged human figures in stylized forms. It is obvious that this style is descended from the *Caurapañcāśika* group, and particularly from the *Gītagovinda* set (No.37) which employs numerous motifs common in 17th-century Mewar painting, and that it has not been touched by Akbari influence at all. The Chawand set is the natural outcome of the Mewar court's political and cultural dissociation from the imperial capital and its stylistic innovations, representing no more than the continuing vitality of the native Hindu artistic tradition.

The normalization of Mewar's political relations with the Mughals in 1614 under Amar Singh after the death of Akbar left open the way to cultural influences from the imperial court, especially as the heir-apparent Karan Singh's presence at court was required by the Emperor Jahāngīr. Yet Amar Singh and Karan Singh (1620–8) were extremely selective in their cultural borrowings; Goetz has rightly pointed out how old-fashioned in style are the palace buildings erected in this period, and they do in fact hark back to the great age of Mewar expansionism under Rānā Kumbha.

The reign of Jagat Singh (1628–52) marks the culmination of this phase of Mewar art. Relations with the Mughals were peaceful, due to the friendship established between Karan Singh and Prince Khurram, the future Shāh Jahān, while the former attended at the Mughal court as heir-apparent of Mewar. When Karan ascended the *gaḍḍī* in 1620, it was to Udaipur that Khurram came when in revolt against his father. Karan

and his son must have absorbed influences at the Mughal court, but it became apparent in Udaipur in ideas rather than direct copying. The royal palace in Udaipur bears no resemblance to the Mughal palaces. In the field of painting it seems to have been Jagat Singh who came to the throne in 1628 at the age of twenty who established a court atelier of artists, perhaps under the direction of Sāhīb Dīn (Sahibādī in *Nāgarī*), for the majority of paintings of the reign are in the style of this artist (Nos.90, 92, 96). We know the name of only one other artist of this period, that of Manohar (No.91). The origins of these two artists are unknown. We may imagine that Sāhīb Dīn was trained by Nāsir ad-Dīn in Chawand and Udaipur, but Manohar's style is different, individual and fully formed at its first appearance. Sāhīb Dīn's work shows considerable advancement over the course of Jagat Singh's reign. In his *Rāgamālā* of 1628 he still uses the horizontal viewpoint for preference, and breaks his pictures into two registers rather than adopt a high viewpoint. Yet in the full-size paintings in manuscripts in *pothī* format of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (No.90) and of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Nos.92, 96), it is precisely this high viewpoint that he has adopted. He spaces his figures out in the foreground and middle distance, whether in landscape or architectural situations, and links them together by a broad sweep of rocks and trees or row of buildings at the back, with horizon and sky beyond. This technical innovation he can only have learnt from Mughal example. The other artists who contributed to the *Rāmāyaṇa* were less happy with the high horizon, being far less skilful in their compositions, and often break the scenes up into registers in the old-fashioned manner.

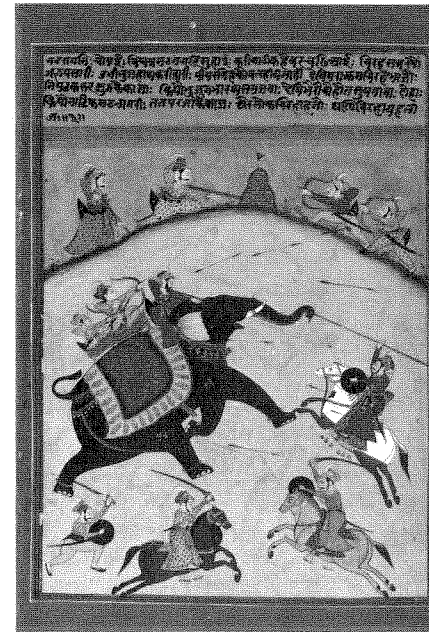
For the illustration of manuscripts on this large scale, Mewar artists evolved a fluent narrative technique that seems to have been experimented with in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* before work was properly started on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Comparatively few of the former manuscript's paintings are on a large or ambitious scale, most of them being no more than half or a quarter of the page, with the figures set against simple plain grounds. For the *Rāmāyaṇa*, a much more ambitious undertaking, telling the history of the Rānā's chief ancestor, it was obviously of importance for the pictures to carry as much of the narrative as possible. Hence many of the paintings depict two or more episodes in the same story, which involves the repetition of the same characters. This is, of course, in direct contrast to the Mughal concept of illustrating manuscripts, which like the Iranian, chooses a precise episode for illustration and does not try to contain all the episodes of a story within the one frame. This Mewar method on the contrary is a continuation of the pre-Mughal tradition of Indian manuscript illustration, in which as in the 1516 *Āraṇyakaparvan* (No.38) or the dispersed *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (No.36), the various events of a particular story are disposed on several registers, or contained within self-sufficient frames. This method of dividing up the painting is still seen occasionally in the Jagat Singh *Rāmāyaṇa*, particularly in the work of Manohar and his followers, but more subtle means are usually used to achieve this end—the use of architecture and landscape details in particular. Sometimes, however, no attempt whatsoever is made to try to separate events, and some of Sāhīb Dīn's most successful pages show the same characters repeatedly, as in the various farewell scenes leading up to Rāma's departure from Ayodhyā (No.92). In this artist's work in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* (No.96), the detail is such that the narrative is continuous

in pictorial terms, and this has the effect of rendering the text superfluous. The Indian artist was as we have seen never at home in the Iranian concept of book-illustration, which depends on a balance between text and pictures, with calligraphy and illumination keeping the visual interest alive until the next painting, but equally meant for a very literate person. For Indian illustrated manuscripts, on the other hand, in a much less literate society, the ability to read the text was never very important, as more often than not it was in a dead language incomprehensible to the patron. Hence the vogue for short texts to be illustrated verse by verse, in the pre-Mughal era, and here Sāhib Dīn is paving the way for a reversion to this system but on a much greater scale (No.98).

The huge efforts made by the studio in Udaipur at the end of the reign of Jagat Singh (1628–52) seem to have temporarily exhausted it, and comparatively few paintings survive from the next fifty years. This may be because political conditions were unfavourable, as relations between the Rajput states and the Mughals deteriorated sharply under Aurangzīb, and constant warfare became the norm. By the time of Amar Singh II (1698–1710), however, there was a renewed burst of activity in painting, particularly of portraits, hunting scenes, festivals, and other court occasions, in which artists experimented with a *nīmqalam* style, combined with heavy stippling; while under his successor, Sangrām Singh II (1710–38), a huge new programme of manuscript illustrations was undertaken, of which a few products in the early years were of good quality.

The *Bālakāṇḍa* of 1712 (No.98) is illustrated with 201 paintings, of full size, and has 212 folios. This is in contrast to the 70:79 ratio of the Jagat Singh book, for the same text, in 1649 (No.91). To spin the text out over such a large body of paintings, the number of lines per folio has been drastically reduced. These illustrated manuscripts are now in fact picture books with explanatory text, reasserting the conception of Indian book-illustration first seen in the 15th century. Many huge sets of this sort still survive in the Udaipur Palace Museum: the *Bhagavadgītā* with a separate picture for each of its 710 verses, a *Mahābhārata* with over 4,000 paintings, and so on. The next step was a further reduction in importance of the text—a summary of the relevant verses from the *Rāmāyaṇa* or *Bhāgavata*, more often in Hindi than in Sanskrit; or a selection of verses rather than the whole text. This type of book illustration was especially popular in the Rajput courts of the Panjab Hills over the next century, mostly, ironically, in the ‘Guler’ and ‘Kangra’ styles of Pahari painting, which of all Rajput styles owe the most to Mughal influence, yet which have triumphantly reasserted the traditional Indian view of book-illustration over the Iranian conception exemplified most forcibly in their early works by the Mughals themselves.

We have dealt with Mewar manuscripts at some length because of the abundance of the available material and the fact that much of it is still in manuscript form. It was the fate of many other schools of Rajput painting for the great works to be broken up, so that many institutions throughout the world have various pages of this or that manuscript. Every major Rajput court and many of the minor *ṭhikānās* or fiefdoms had its own studio, whose main function was the production of portraits of the rulers, and was employed on illustrating smaller works such as the *Rāgamālā*, *Rasikapriyā* and so on. Few had the resources to attempt anything on a

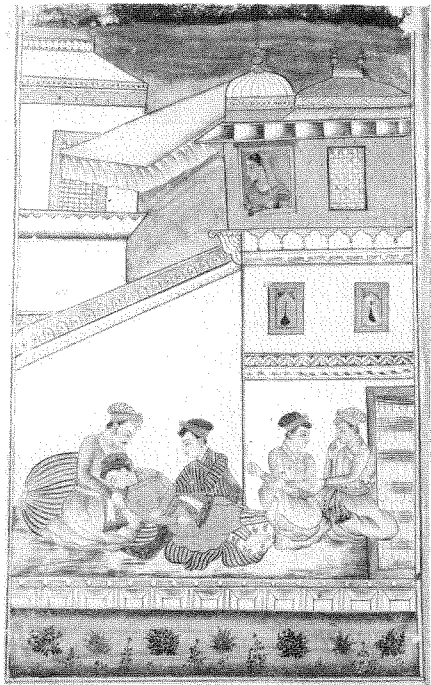


100 f.3b. *Naṭa rāga*, a furious warrior (No.100, p.131).

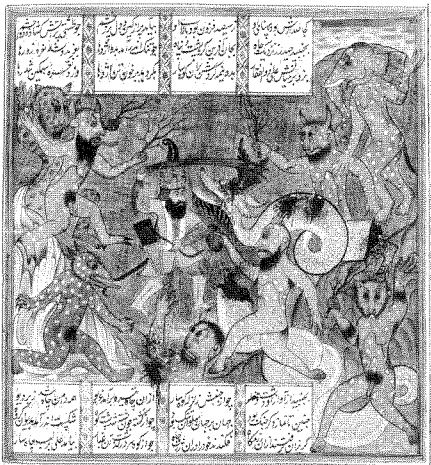
larger scale. It is not part of our purpose here to examine all these different schools, as they all adopt a broadly similar approach to manuscript illustration. Stylistically they develop at different rates, and have high points at different times depending almost entirely on the patronage of the ruler. Those styles based largely on pre-Mughal or Popular Mughal styles, such as Mewar and Bundi, have their most important periods of manuscript production in the 17th century. Others such as Bikaner or Kishangarh scarcely seem established until late in the 17th century or the 18th century, as they depended largely on the employment of artists leaving Delhi during the reign of Aurangzīb or during the Afghan invasions. The vicissitudes which befell Delhi from 1739 caused successive waves of artists to leave for safer havens—the development of Rajput painting in the Panjab Hills in the 18th century is a progression away from a fierce, fiery-coloured Rajput style towards greater and greater Mughalization of palette and composition. Few of the Rajput studios of the plains bothered to produce illustrated manuscripts during the 18th century, concentrating instead on larger and sumptuous scenes of royal life, of festivals, processions and above all hunting. The influence of the sumptuous landscape tradition of the Mughals in the second half of the 17th century is here most apparent.

The format of Rajput manuscripts differs according to the text and the purpose. The format of the earliest, the Chawand *Rāgamālā* of 1605 is almost square, an indication perhaps of its descent from the *Rāgamālā* in the *Caurapañcāsika* group, which has two square paintings on each side of each folio. Other smaller sets of the early 17th century of texts such as *Rasikapriyā*, *Rāgamālās* and the *Nāyikabheda* are in the upright format seen also in Popular Mughal work (No.89), which is used throughout the 17th century (No.100). From the very earliest of them, the text of the verse is inscribed in black *Nāgarī* across the top of the painting against a ground, usually yellow, a development that occurs simultaneously in Popular Mughal manuscripts and in the Deccan with its *Rāgamālā* sets. The prototype of this sort of manuscript is of course the *Caurapañcāsika* group, conceived initially as sets of paintings illustrating a comparatively small number of verses. However, in Mewar and Malwa the landscape *poṭhī* format was retained for all the works on a grand scale, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (unlike the Bundi manuscript) and so on, with the texts written on the reverse of the paintings, and of course in the usual way on the unillustrated pages. This is true also of later illustrated manuscripts from Mewar in the 18th century which exist in great numbers, although many also have the text in panels above the painting, and in the large-scale works undertaken at the other Rajput courts, especially in the Panjab Hills. Among the latter, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and *Rāmāyaṇa* were especially popular, although often the text used was a much shorter Hindi version or sometimes none at all. These manuscripts are the final embodiment of the Indian conception of book-illustration.

Other formats were also used from at least the mid-17th century in Rajasthan and elsewhere in northern India. Bound in a single section, they were first in landscape format (No.99) and then in vertical format (No.101). Illustrations could fill the entire page of the former, but in the latter there was a curious reversion to the small horizontal miniature across the page, as in the *Gulistān* and *Būstān* of Shāh Jahān (Nos.79, 80), going back ultimately to 14th-century Iranian paintings.



104 f. 31. The rejected suitor is consoled by his friends (No. 104, p. 133).



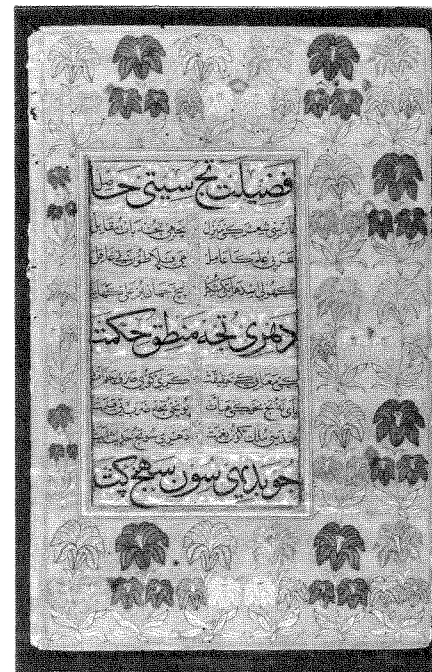
105 f. 154b. 'Alī fighting miscellaneous divs and dragons (No. 105, p. 133).

Whereas it was only in royal studios that the larger-scale illustrated *poṭhī* manuscripts were produced, smaller and less ambitious manuscripts such as the single-section type or smaller-scale loose-leaf *poṭhīs* were produced for lesser nobles, chiefs and merchants throughout Rajasthan and Gujarat, some following the Popular Mughal tradition, others in frozen versions of earlier Jaina styles. These provincial styles of course are not those of the Rajput courts, which were the creations of individual artists of genius and patrons of aesthetic sensitivity. In these bourgeois productions, the style is a generalized Rajput one which follows the basic formulae of the more traditional court styles as to figural and landscape types, and invariably adopts the horizontal viewpoint.

Comparatively few illustrated manuscripts were produced for Muslim patrons in the north Indian provinces in the 17th century. Here the trend must have been the same as elsewhere, towards the production of isolated pictures. A *Rasikapriyā* from Gorakhpur dated 1077/1666 (No. 104), which is in a Popular Mughal style, seems to be the earliest such example. The area along the Ganges between Jaunpur and Bengal produced illuminated manuscripts in the pre-Mughal period which have survived in small numbers, but which indicate that it supported flourishing schools of painters. While the Mughal court in the late 16th and 17th centuries was fostering a hot-house, eclectic style, in the provinces artists must have just gone on painting as they had always done, adopting new perspectives and techniques as they filtered through from the metropolitan centres. The 1591 Chunar *Rāgamālā* is the first evidence of this trend. The 1666 *Rasikapriyā* was produced for a local patron in a style which indicates that Rajput painting is a result of patronage rather than location, like the Chunar *Rāgamālā* itself.

In the north-west of the subcontinent from Kashmir down to Sind, there is considerable evidence for various provincial schools derived ultimately from Sultanate styles of the 15th century with various overlays of Mughal or Safavid styles. Such a one surfaces in Multan in 1686, in a *Khāvarnāma* (No. 105) in which may be seen high circular horizons, plain gold grounds and 15th-century rock formations. Another finds expression in a slightly later *Shāhnāma* (No. 125) produced at Rajauri in 1131/1719, one of the stages on the road to Kashmir via Sialkot. A princess of Rajauri was the wife of Aurangzīb and mother of Mu'azam Shāh, the future Emperor Bahādur Shāh (1707–12), and artists may have gone there from Delhi after 1680, when Aurangzīb left for the Deccan never to return. However, the style is not Mughal, but a fully developed local style, apparently an amalgam of Popular Mughal painting of the 17th century with a vigorous local style descended from a style of Sultanate painting of which we have as yet no knowledge. The manuscript is, however, a harbinger of the developed Kashmiri style of the late 18th century in its glittery appearance with gold and silver used in abundance, extremely fine polished paper, highly burnished pigments and general stylistic appearance, with composition in layers, hilly horizons, 'Deccani' colour combinations, and so on. A solitary manuscript from Thatta dated 1775 is the only evidence of a flourishing provincial idiom in Sind.

The only major centre for Persian manuscript production in the 17th century apart from Delhi was the Deccan, which during the course of the 17th century was attacked several times by the Mughals trying to incorporate the three independent Sultanates into their empire.

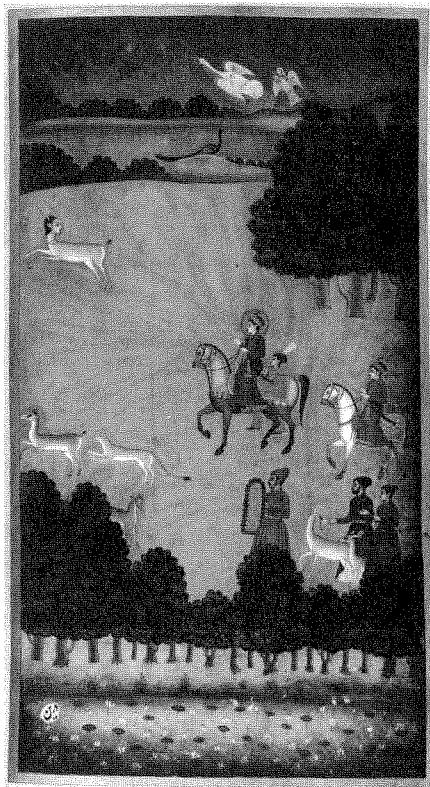


103 f. 27b. Lilies, illuminated *hashīya* around text in large *Riqā'* and small *Naskhī* (No. 103, p. 132).

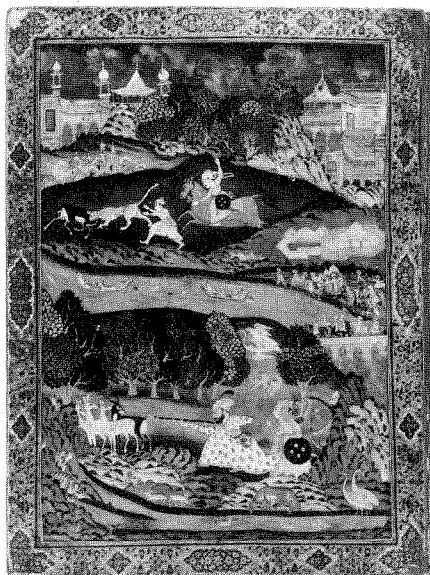
Ahmednagar fell in 1600, but continued resisting; Bijapur and Golconda survived as independent states until 1686 and 1687. Comparatively few first-rank illustrated manuscripts have survived from the Deccani kingdoms from this period. One of the most intriguing, although probably not of royal provenance, is the album of *Rāgamālā* and other paintings presented by Archbishop Laud to the Bodleian Library in 1639. The provenance of the *Rāgamālā* set has long been a subject of controversy, but there seems little doubt now that it is of Deccani origin. However, it is significantly different from paintings of the court Deccani styles, both in its directness of line and simplicity, and in the costumes, which are linked to the group of late 16th-century Deccani *Rāgamālā* paintings, associated apparently more with a Hindu than a Muslim tradition, in which the inscribed verses are in both *Nāgarī* and *Nasta'liq*. The paintings of the Laud *Rāgamālā* then would seem to be the product of a 'Popular Deccani' school. Just as patrons other than the Mughal Emperor and his immediate entourage were patronizing Mughal painters by the late 16th century, the same must have been happening in the cities of the Deccan also. The *Rāgamālā* is Hindu in feel, not Muslim, being related in structure and composition to 16th-century sets such as the *Caurapañcāsika* manuscript in which one or two people are disposed in front of a simple pavilion-like structure offset to one side. They may be dated to the period 1600–20.

The vigorous local styles of the early 17th-century Deccan kingdoms were quickly overlaid by an ever-more insistent Mughal style, so that by the time of their final fall the work produced there was really in a provincial Mughal idiom. However, the incessant wars provided ample opportunity for the intermingling of styles. The Mughal headquarters, Aurangabad, seems to have been a clearing post for the despatch of Deccani manuscripts and paintings, and, probably, artists to Rajasthan where their influence is felt in courts as far apart as Mewar (Nos. 94–5) and Bikaner. At the time of the final collapse of Golconda in 1687, it was already producing work apparently for European consumption, for it was a great trading post for jewels and fabrics for export to Europe. Albums of the emperors and sultans of India were the favourite theme, typically the Mughal emperors from Bābur to Aurangzīb, followed by the 'Adil Shāhi and Qutb Shāhi rulers. The earliest of these albums are of small folios with the portrait in a painted oval frame, in imitation of the European miniatures which were popular in India in the 17th century. Slightly later in a more Mughal style were produced many similar albums, doubtless for the same market, with paintings in the usual vertical format.

In the arts of illumination of manuscripts they followed their own path, early abandoning such Iranian influences as appear in the medical encyclopedia of 1572 (No. 51). As with Mughal illumination, the patterns diverge from standard Iranian ones and the colours follow an even more sumptuous and original path. In the *Qaṣīdah* (No. 103) by the famous Dakhni poet Nusratī dedicated to 'Abdallāh Qutb Shāh of Golconda (1626–72), every page is decorated with marginal designs in sumptuous gold and colours, alternating floral patterns with arabesque and geometric designs. Whereas Mughal marginal designs of the same date are never allowed to overwhelm the central panel of text or painting, impressing by the delicacy of their execution, in this Deccani manuscript the richness and sumptuousness of the illumination and the boldness of drawing of the flowers has quite the opposite effect.



106 f.29b. Prince Gauhar first sees his beloved Mālikā Zamānī who has been transformed into a gazelle (No.106, p.133).



111 Front cover. A prince hunting (No.111, p.135).

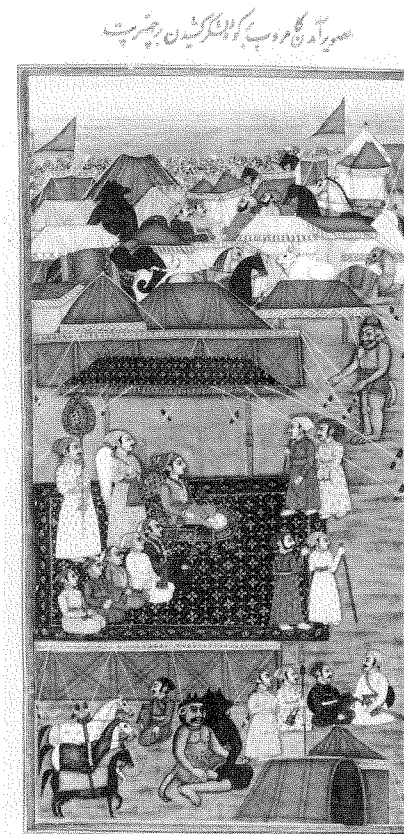
The lure of the capital as the one centre of artistic life in India gradually disappeared during the 17th century, as the number of artists employed in the imperial studio grew fewer and fewer. Shāh Jahān seems even to have dispensed with the services of some of Jahāngīr's greatest artists – Manohar seems to have taken service with Prince Dārā Shikoh, and Bishndās with Zafar Khān (No.83). Imperial patronage of painting was even less apparent under Aurangzīb, who had the Muslim fundamentalist's horror of the artist, and although some state portraits and fine scenes survive from his reign, from which it must be supposed that he did have the services of artists when required, there are no illustrated manuscripts which can be associated with him. Aurangzīb delighted in writing the Koran, and a considerable number are supposed to be in his hand.

Those paintings which can be confidently attributed to imperial patronage in the latter half of the 17th century exhibit no stylistic advance on the paintings of the *Pādshāhnāma* (No.82). The problems of landscape and perspective had finally been solved in this manuscript, and the solutions found are applied to great effect in some of the set pieces of hunting scenes of the Aurangzīb period. Otherwise an ever increasing rigidity is apparent.

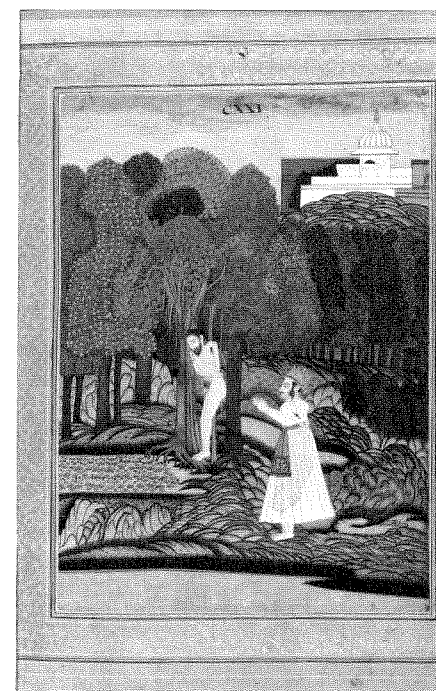
The death of Aurangzīb in 1707 and the ensuing civil war marked the end of the internal stability of the Mughal empire. The reign of the weak Muhammad Shāh (1719–48) witnessed the collapse of central authority, the carving out of almost independent kingdoms by great nobles in the provinces, the sack of Delhi in 1739 by the Afghans under Nādir Shāh, and the rise of the Mahrattas as the most powerful force in India. In these conditions it would be idle to expect great art, but enough artists seemed to remain in imperial employ to be able to produce some very fine paintings and manuscripts, as in the *Kārnāma-i 'Ishq* of 1735 (No.106), in which the formal and static art of the late 17th century is matched by an increasingly cold palette making much use of white, grey and green. European influence is also discernible in the work of some artists.

The collapse of central Mughal authority enabled powerful noblemen to establish independent states in the Deccan, Bengal and Oudh, paying nominal allegiance to Delhi. The flourishing and brilliant court of the Nawabs of Oudh at Faizabad and Lucknow in the reigns of Shujā'ad-Daulah (1754–75) and Āsaf ad-Daulah (1775–97) attracted *littérateurs* and artists escaping the wreck of Delhi, twice more sacked by the Afghans, and the maraudings of the Mahrattas and other bands of raiders who terrorized northern India in the later 18th century. In Oudh the Mughal style became even more sumptuous, with hotter colours, reds and oranges and purples and with a vast amount of gold set against cold whites and greys, giving an exotic effect of great splendour. The stock subjects are still the same as under Muhammad Shāh, although in Oudh, as in the other great provincial courts, *Rāgamālā* sets were perhaps the most favoured theme of all. Skies now tend to be full of multicoloured clouds, echoing the vivid hues of the garments worn by the nobles and ladies against cold architectural backdrops, with solemn and formal rows of flowers and sometimes of sombre trees. Faces are heavily modelled, with shadows marked.

The variety of the Mughal style which was practised in Hyderabad under the Nizāms descended from Āsaf Jāh owes something to earlier Deccani work, especially colour combinations, but is otherwise in a style



112 f.166b. Prince Kāmarūpa and his encampment (No.112, p.135).



113 f.391b. King Yudhishthira finds his uncle Vidura practising asceticisms (No.113, p.136).

similar to that practised in Lucknow. Archaistic work also abounds in the 18th century, as in a *Qissa Sayf al-Mulūk* in the British Library (Or.86), which appears to be a copy dated 1746 of a manuscript originally written in the reign of 'Abdallāh Qutb Shāh (1626–72), while a *Khāvarnāma* in the India Office Library exemplifies the same trend. There also creeps into Hyderabad work of the later 18th century a considerable southern Hindu element; for example, Krishna is represented in a *Rasikapriyā* set with a tall south Indian crown. A variety of the Hyderabad style flourished in the Carnatic later in the 18th century.

The capital of the Mughal province of Bengal was shifted in 1704 from Dacca to Makhsudabad, a city on the banks of the Bhagirathi, by the Governor Murshīd Qulī Khān, who renamed it Murshidabad after himself. His successors from 'Alivardī Khān (1740–56) ruled as independent Nawabs like their counterparts in Oudh and the Deccan. 'Alivardī Khān maintained a studio at his capital for at least the last few years of his reign, and several coldly brilliant studies date from this period. Under Surāj ad-Daulah (1756–7), a pleasure-loving prince whose brief reign was cut short by Clive, and his successors to 1763, there was a brief flowering of another provincial Mughal style, again, like that of Oudh and Hyderabad, based on the formal language of the Muhammad Shāh period, but which in Murshidabad seems to have been influenced somewhat more heavily by European drawing and thus able to show some stylistic advance. Some of the paintings in the *Dastūr-i Himmat* (No.112) could not have been attempted without European influence. This manuscript and another, equally beautiful, in the Victoria Memorial Hall in Calcutta, a *Nal Daman*, demonstrate that in Murshidabad the royal studio did not just reproduce the stock subjects of the period but was concerned to illustrate manuscripts also, first-class examples of which are lacking from Lucknow and Hyderabad. By 1770, however, the role of Murshidabad as a great centre for the export trade had been lost to the British in Calcutta, to whom also was passing political power. Artistic patronage likewise became more diffused through other sections of Murshidabad society, and eventually even downriver to the great port on the Hooghly, some of whose officials, such as Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice of Bengal from 1774–83, were great patrons on Indian painting, and it is probably to him that we owe the set of Murshidabad paintings in a manuscript of the *Razmnāma* (No.113).

In the twilight of the Mughal Empire when the Emperor was successively the puppet of the Afghans, the Rohillas, the Mahrattas and the British, and the glories of Shāh Jahān had long departed, the imperial studio in Delhi seems to have been particularly keen to produce illustrated manuscripts of his reign in sumptuous format, doubtless for presentation. Such manuscripts of one or other of the histories of Shāh Jahān are to be found in considerable numbers. It was also at this time that such albums and manuscripts of the earlier periods as remained in the imperial library were 'refurbished'. Some paintings from manuscripts were remounted in album pages with sumptuous border decorations, others from manuscripts and albums were removed and excellent copies inserted in their place. In some manuscripts such as the *Bāburnāma* (No.62), the removal of the painting was cleverly disguised by the rearrangement of the text and the addition of new marginal decoration, while another copy of the same text (No.108) had new paintings inserted. This kind of work was also being done in Lucknow,